HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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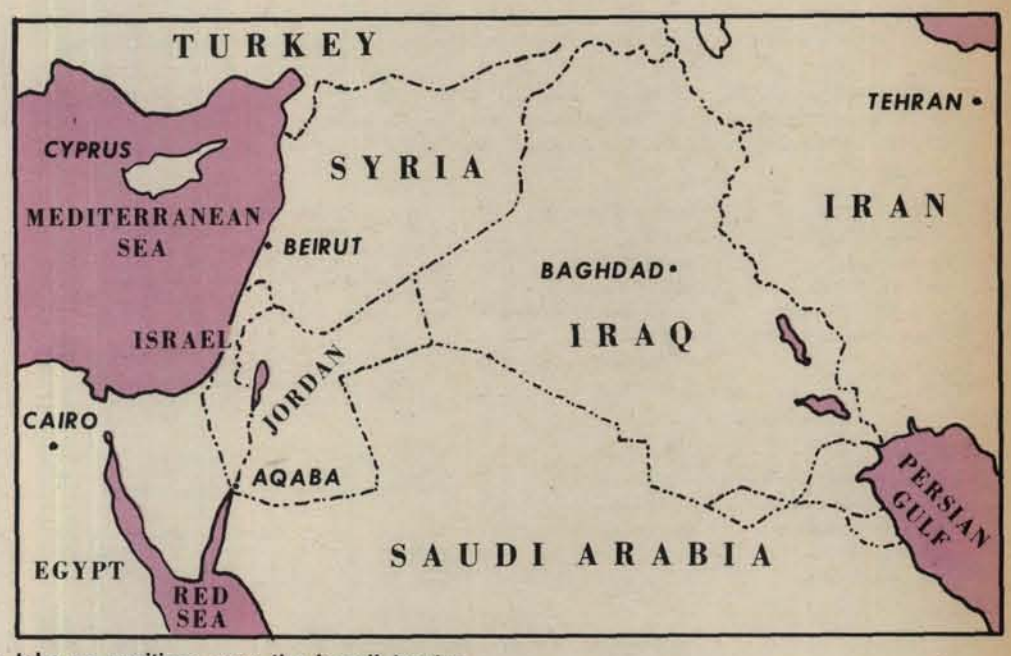

Nasser's tanks move across the Sinai desert to take up positions near the Israeli border.

The Trap That Waits for the West

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Slowly, at the southern end of the Red Sea, a new trap is being prepared to catch the ever-unready West. The springing of the trap waits upon the British departure from their historic naval base at Aden, which is scheduled for next year.

The two nations that are conniving to change the balance of power at the crossroads where Asia, Africa and Mediterranean Europe meet have different ends in view. Nasser's Egypt is out to throw a strangulation noose around Israel. The Soviet Union is seeking to cut the world in two at a point where Europe's oil supply is strategically involved. But the means to the different ends are the same: shut the Red Sea at both ends.

The threat to Israel is the hidden kicker that should wake up our somnolent liberals. For, if Nasser and the Kremlin are to achieve their differing goals, this little country must be blotted out. Already the Egyptian noose is tightening on the beleaguered Israelis.

The Soviets have rebuilt Nasser's army, sending technicians to teach the Egyptians how to operate and maintain a thousand new tanks. To the north, the Russians have armed the Syrians, who agree with Nasser on undermining Israel, with the latest MIG planes. But the time for direct confrontation of Arab and Israeli is not yet. First, there is the matter of the southern end of the Red Sea.

If this can be pinched off by Soviet-Egyptian contriving, the new Israeli port of Eilat on the Gulf of Aqaba, an arm of the Red Sea which laps the eastern shore of the Sinai peninsula, can be closed to world shipping.

Anthony Harrigan, a profound student of Near Eastern strategy, has reported on the current construction of a 30-inch oil pipeline which will connect Eilat with the new Israeli port of Ashod on the Mediterranean. Since the Egyptians already refuse to let Israeli ships through the Suez Canal, the pipeline would enable Israel to get oil traffic which she is now denied. Oil from the Persian Gulf would simply be pumped out of tankers on the Gulf of Aqaba-Red Sea side and flow overland through the Negev desert to ships at Mediterranean docks. This would be cheaper for the European customer than sending tankers through the Suez Canal.

The squeeze on the hopeful new Israeli port on the Gulf of Aqaba would follow completion of Nasser's Yemen adventure. Nasser already has an army of 50,000 Russian-equipped soldiers in Yemen, which is on the eastern side of the Red Sea just above the British installations at Aden. And in the so-called Horn of Africa, just across the Gulf of Aden, the Somali tribesmen are being armed by the Soviets to stir trouble in Kenya, French Somaliland and Ethiopia.

Thus the southern jaw of the trap is being set. The northern jaw involves a more complex strategy on the part of the Russians. For, to prepare this, the American 6th Fleet must be expelled from the Mediterranean.

The Soviets have already warned us that we must go. They have been building more nuclear submarines, and they have combined their Black Sea and Baltic Sea navies into one. On the southern coast of the Mediterranean the Algerians have reportedly received 75 MIG fighter-bombers, along with tanks, helicopters, torpedo boats, ground-to-air missiles and radar systems as part of their "aid" from Moscow.

Trouble in Greece, Cyprus and Morocco, and the revival of Spanish claims to Gibraltar, feed the air of tension in the Mediterranean. The stakes in keeping this artery open are huge, for at any given moment some 1,300 merchant vessels are either sailing its waters or anchored in its ports. Five hundred of these are oil tankers.

If the Nasser-Moscow Axis succeeds in closing the Red Sea, giant tankers built like the unfortunate *Torrey Canyon* would carry oil around the Cape of Good Hope. But when a ship as large as the *Torrey Canyon* is loaded it weighs an unwieldy 118,000 tons. Slow and cumbersome, a *Torrey Canyon* would be an easy mark for a submarine.

The West has the power to counter the ambitions of Nasser and his Moscow allies. But public opinion should be alerted to the problem posed by the British withdrawal from Aden. And American liberals who love both Russia and Israel must realize the incompatibility of such affections.

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● More than half the Democratic congressmen and senators did not attend the party's lavish Washington **fund-raising dinner** at which LBJ was the featured speaker. Explained one far West congressman: "Johnson's so unpopular in my district that I'm doing everything I can to disassociate myself from him."

● Australian Communist **Wilfred Burchett** writes from North Korea that the "armed forces and people are being prepared physically and psychologically for the idea that a new shooting war could break out anytime. . . ."

● State Department officials are planning to give **Janos Radvanyi**, who has been a top-ranking Hungarian diplomat in Washington, the "Svetlana treatment." They say they don't want to "exploit" his dramatic defection to the United States last week for fear it might jeopardize our relations with Hungary.

● Biggest guessing game on Capitol Hill: Who was the New York Times' reporter talking about when he wrote: "A **member of Congress** from an Eastern state was shaken down for $40,000 by members of a nationwide ring that has preyed on homosexuals for over the last decade."

● Sen. **Edward Brooke** (R.-Mass.) is being looked upon with much favor by his conservative colleagues in Congress these days. Once considered a dove, Brooke came back from Viet Nam insisting the United States had to stay in the fight. Now the nation's highest elected Negro has taken on Martin Luther King—something most Negro leaders have been afraid to do. King's advice as to a cease-fire "is suicidal," said Brooke recently. "His advice to young men not to obey the draft laws is dangerous."

● The **New York Times** wrote a lengthy two-column obituary about Michael Gold on May 16 without ever mentioning: that he was a Communist; that the Worker, for whom he wrote a column until his death, is a Communist paper and, in fact, the official organ of the CPUSA; or that the People's World, which carried Gold's column, is an official Communist paper, not just a "West Coast publication." The obit started out: "Michael Gold, author of 'Jews Without Money' and other works of social protest. . . ."

● Sen. Abraham Ribicoff (D.-Conn.) has been bombarded with constituent mail imploring him to oppose the censure of colleague **Tom Dodd**. "There is nothing organized about these letters," a Ribicoff aide admits privately. "Apparently the people of Connecticut are still behind Tom." Ribicoff is worried that should he support censure, the defection of Dodd supporters could cost him re-election next year.

● Mrs. **Louise Day Hicks**, member of the Boston school board and a nationally known champion of neighborhood schools, is favored over nine other candidates who are expected to enter the September Democratic mayoralty primary in Boston. In the 1965 board race, she won 64 per cent of the vote.

● While many liberals have decried the recent **military coup in Greece**, Rep. Edna F. Kelly (D.-N.Y.), a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, claimed last week that there would have been a massive Red takeover of that country had not the military intervened. What surprised the congresswoman was that "so many officials apparently failed to foresee the possibility of it." (Edgar Ansel Mowrer discusses the Greek situation on page 11.)

● Venezuelan troops have killed a Cuban officer and captured two other Cuban soldiers who were part of an 11-man **Communist guerrilla band** that landed near Caracas in early May.

● LBJ's **spending schemes** continue to knock the economy out of kilter. Secretary of the Treasury Henry H. Fowler told the tax-writing House Ways and Means Committee last week that next year's federal deficit could soar as high as $24 billion—nearly three times the original estimate—and that he wants Congress to set a new permanent debt ceiling of $365 billion—$29 billion over the current temporary limit.

● The **Department of Agriculture** has also come out with less than cheering news. Housewives, according to the department, will be paying 2 to 3 per cent more for groceries by the summer.

● The Department of Labor says workers are winning **wage boosts** averaging a hefty 5 per cent a year in 1967, nearly two percentage points higher than the average the President's Council of Economic Advisers insists is inflationary.

● Robert Kennedy set the FBI after reporters; Hubert Humphrey lets loose his bodyguards. The vice president's **Secret Service bodyguards**, it was learned last week, punched, shoved and jostled newsmen who were tagging along behind Humphrey after he had delivered the major speech at the celebration of the New York Stock Exchange's 175th birthday. One of the newsmen, Doug Edelson, of radio station WINS, complained that he had been hit twice in the stomach.

● More than 400 persons last week attended a **"Peace with Rhodesia"** banquet in Washington sponsored by the American Southern Africa Council. The dinner, intended to kick off a national campaign of support for the Ian Smith regime, was addressed by Sen. Strom Thurmond (R.-S.C.), who told his audience he passed up a White House invitation so he could make the banquet. Thurmond revealed that Rhodesia's Ian Smith had offered up to 5,000 troops to fight alongside Allied forces in Viet Nam. So far, the State Department has said "No, thanks."

● **Eric Sevareid**, news commentator for CBS-TV, has declined an offer from North Dakota Democrats to run against Sen. Milton R. Young (R.-N.D.). Sevareid, who had suggested he was interested in the race, gave his "No" after Rep. Durward Hall (R.-Mo.) said CBS should deny a TV forum to Sevareid as long as he was a prospective candidate.

● The request by a Boone, N.C., anti-poverty agency to have the OEO in Washington finance a **newspaper for the poor** has been dropped, primarily because of local and congressional criticism.

● Sen. Jack Miller (R.-Iowa) lists **U.S. payments to the United Nations**, since its inception, at $2.9 billion—nearly half of its $6-billion expenditures. Miller notes that 108 U.N. members are currently delinquent in their dues or "peace-keeping" assessments. Of the 108, 96 have received U.S. foreign aid.

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Ominous Signs for LBJ

Democratic politicians are saying that President Johnson is in deep political trouble, far more than the recent polls would indicate. Here's part of their thinking on the matter:

LBJ

• LBJ, considered the master of the legislative process, is finding his "Great Society" is facing rough times in both the House and the Senate. In the lower chamber the GOP, though still vastly outnumbered, clearly has the Democrats on the run. Last week House Republicans, along with some conservative-minded Southern Democrats, teamed up to wreak havoc with a couple of Johnson's pet measures. They killed off the rent supplement appropriations and gave the Model [nee Demonstration] Cities program a thorough working over. Two weeks ago they combined to give the Teacher Corps the axe. The Democrats are also running scared because the informal GOP-Dixie coalition plans to pulverize LBJ's "bridge building" schemes with the Fino amendment, which would prevent direct and indirect U.S. subsidies to the Communist bloc by the Export-Import Bank. The GOP proposal—the Quie bill—to return to the states at least some of the powers over education has also caused terrific headaches for the Administration, which is currently waging an all-out campaign to have it defeated.

• LBJ will undoubtedly have an easier time in the more liberal Senate, but even there his legislative program is facing some serious obstacles. As perhaps a taste of things to come, the presidential campaign financing act, pressed with considerable vigor by the Administration, has been effectively killed off for this session.

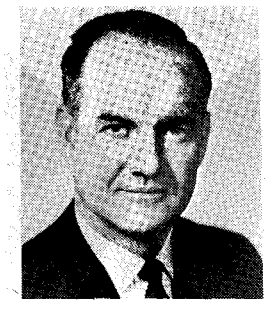
But Johnson's difficulty in getting his legislative program through Congress is only one sign of his apparent weakness and unpopularity.

• Another straw in the wind is the severe split among Democrats in several states which went big for LBJ in 1964. Sen. Joseph Clark (D.-Pa.), for example, is expected to have rough primary opposition in 1968, and the prospective fight could prove extremely damaging to the Democratic party. With incumbent James Tate having won the Democratic nomination for mayor in Philadelphia last week, the city's Democratic machine, which tried to dump Tate, has been shattered beyond recognition. Facing demoralized and divided Democrats, the Republicans could this fall win the mayorship in Philadelphia for the first time in many years and then go on to carry the state for the GOP presidential nominee in 1968.

• Despite that note by Senate doves to Hanoi telling Ho Chi Minh they are against unilateral withdrawal of U.S. forces from South Viet Nam, many of these same doves are planning to run far away from LBJ in 1968. Senate corridors are abuzz with noises of revolt from liberal Democrats who are apparently getting ready to separate themselves from a commander-in-chief whom they both dislike and distrust.

The *Daily Plainsman* in South Dakota (published in Huron, the home town of Vice President Humphrey) recently bannered a story: "McGovern May Not Support LBJ in '68".

Sen. George McGovern revealed that he wants to "wait and see who the Republican candidate will be" before deciding to back Johnson for a second term. Asked if he would support the GOP nominee, McGovern said: "Yes . . . if I felt it was more likely he could lead us to an honorable settlement of the war." Republican politicos say the story has created a sensation in South Dakota and, in the words of one pro, has "split the Democrats from prow to stern." Says another: "Among other things, this clearly indicates that McGovern has completely thrown himself into the Kennedy camp. It also might indicate McGovern knows more about Kennedy's plans for next year than most of the rest of us. Any way you look at it, it is very unusual for a freshman senator to break with his party, denounce his President and indicate he may not support him for re-election."


McGOVERN

Other Democratic doves, as noted, are expected to follow suit. Hence the belief that 1968 doesn't augur well for LBJ at the present time.

THIS WEEK'S NEWS from INSIDE WASHINGTON

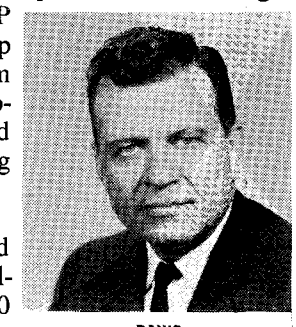
GOP Bouncing Back

The Administration is still reeling from its first major setback in the 90th Congress, delivered last week by conservative House Republicans and Southern Democrats.

Initially, the House all but killed LBJ's much-favored rent supplement program, and then nearly voted into obscurity the fledgling Model Cities program. Only a determined, arm-twisting effort by Democratic leaders rescued the latter, but even then it had been reduced several hundred million dollars below Administration requests.

Both "Great Society" measures came to the floor from the Appropriations Committee already sharply slashed in scope and under heavy GOP artillery.

Hammering away at the economy theme in the wake of Treasury Secretary Fowler's prediction of a budget deficit of $24 billion, GOP leaders led the fight to strip the rent supplement program of the $10 million the Appropriations Committee had recommended for expanding the program next year.


DAVIS

The Administration had originally requested $40 million for an additional 44,000 rent subsidy units, but the Appropriations Committee cut the figure back $30 million. The amendment to lop off the remaining $10 million was sponsored by Rep. Glenn Davis (R.-Wis.), who was supported by 163 Republicans and 69 Democrats. Only 12 Republicans sided with the Administration (See rollcall, page 15).

(The program, however, is not completely dead for two reasons: 1. Several million dollars' worth of existing rent supplement commitments will still be funded; and 2. The Senate could restore all or part of the cuts. If this happens, the issue will have to be thrashed out in a joint House-Senate conference. Readers are urged to write their senators now, urging them to oppose any extension of the radical rent supplement plan.)

The $237-million Model Cities appropriation—trimmed considerably from the Administration's request of over $600 million—barely survived a call for even more drastic cuts by Rep. Robert Michel (R.-Ill.).

In asking that the program be cut back to $12 million, Michel argued that once this program gets under way "it will be our most costly domestic activity." He noted that the "big-city mayors are already talking in terms of a quarter of a trillion dollars" to rehabilitate slums.

Michel also revealed that the cities don't have to go hat in hand to the federal government to receive the taxpayers' money. "I cannot help but be reminded," Michel added, "that on this very day my home town of Peoria, Ill., population 130,000, is formally receiving from the National Municipal League and *Look* magazine our second 'All America City Award.'"

Peoria's award this year, said Michel, is "due to a combination of factors, not the least of which is the better than $50-million downtown development program without one thin dime of federal money. We have demonstrated and will continue to prove that we can be a model city on our own."

Michel's amendment lost by a close 213 to 193. It could actually have passed if some conservative-minded lawmakers hadn't buckled under Administration pressure. Among the renegades were Rep. Wilbur Mills (D.-Ark.), who only a few weeks ago was grabbing headlines with charges that government spending is out of control, and Robert Taft Jr. (R.-Ohio). A complete rollcall on the Model Cities bill will appear in *Human Events* next week.

Conservatives also made additional tax-saving amendments to the entire appropriations bill. For one thing, they reduced by $2.3 billion the amount of money LBJ can raise through the sale of participation certificates, a clever fund-raising device which permits LBJ to expand spending without having it show up in the customary administrative budget.

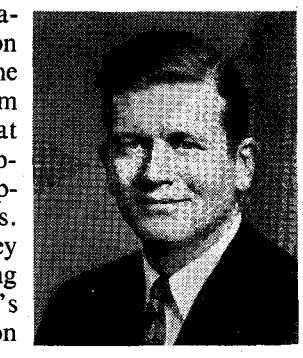
Democratic liberals, of course, have been weeping that the GOP is sabotaging the "poor," but Republican conservatives point out that the vast spending programs LBJ wants enacted will hurt everybody through inflation, take more tax money and hand it over to government bureaucrats and invest untold new power in Big Brother.

And while the rent subsidy is considered to be a boon to the poor, it is actually more of a boon to landlords and builders.

Under the rent supplement program, federal housing authorities are empowered to make 40-year commitments to sponsors of new and rehabilitated housing projects. The payments go to the owners of the project, not to the tenant himself. Moreover, the program is designed to guarantee the sponsors a profit. To take care of the "poor," it is pointed out, the government is already engaged in many welfare and public housing programs—all of which are expanding.

'Fun City's' Dove

New Yorkers are still awaiting an explanation from their All-American Mayor John Lindsay, who refused to attend the huge parade down Fifth Avenue on May 13 in support of the nation's soldiers in Viet Nam (see page 13). There were at least 75,000 marchers and approximately as many supporters on the sidewalks. Scores of men, as they marched past the reviewing stand, shouted "Hey, where's Lindsay?" or some variation of that jeer.


LINDSAY

An aide to the mayor alibied that Lindsay had not come because he had not been personally invited, but Raymond M. Grimmler, a fire captain and organizer of the parade, revealed that such was not the case. Grimmler made public a letter he had received from the mayor's office that had been signed by Harvey Rothenberg, his administrative assistant.

The letter expressed regret that Lindsay couldn't attend the patriotic parade because "he will be out of town." In actual fact, Lindsay was not out of town; indeed, during part of the parade he was making a speech to a small gathering in Central Park a few minutes walk from the reviewing stand.

LBJ's 'Thought Control' Bill

There's still time to block "Operation Brainwash" in the House even though the Senate last week passed the Public Television Act of 1967 (now the Public Broadcasting Act). Supported by the President, the United Auto Workers and even some conservatives,

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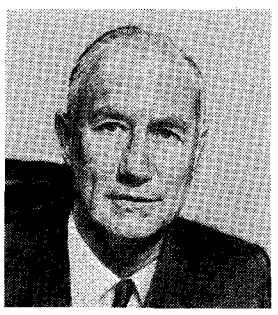
this measure could lead to government-controlled TV and radio.

The heart of this bill—now before the House Education and Labor Committee—is the presidentially controlled Corporation for Public Broadcasting, which will have a majority of its 15-member governing board selected by the President.

Through the leverage of federal funds, the corporation will be able to control the contents of educational television (ETV) by contracting and making grants to individuals or groups for the purpose of producing "educational" TV programs. These government-subsidized and selected programs, in turn, will be distributed to the 130 ETV stations operating today and are scheduled to be sent, as the channels become operational, to each and every one of the more than 600 stations reserved for ETV purposes by the Federal Communications Commission.

Raising serious objections to the bill last week, Sen. Strom Thurmond (R.-S.C.) stated there were "no built-in checks in this bill to insure that the corporation will act responsibly." Thurmond expressed fear over the government's going into the "production of programs" and noted there were no specific provisions to bar the corporation from producing programs that would influence legislation, promote activities and "visionary schemes" of government agencies or attempt to justify actions of the executive branch. "Anyone who truly loves liberty must oppose this bill," Thurmond declared.


THURMOND

• An overlooked aspect of the whole public TV set-up is the liberal, tax-exempt National Education Television Network. NET, which is destined to receive a lion's share of funds under the ETV measure, is the only big corporation today regularly producing and distributing "educational" television programs on a national basis.

Already possessing a partial stranglehold over ETV stations that must turn to it for entertainment fare, NET has distributed to its 110 affiliates a wide variety of leftish programs, including one lauding Fidel Castro. One of its latest presentations featured a critic of South Africa without mentioning that the critic was a Communist. And beginning in October, pundit Walter Lippmann and AFL-CIO spokesman Edward P. Morgan will be seen over ETV through the courtesy of NET.

The Public Broadcasting Laboratory of NET, moreover, has just appointed a liberal-stacked 12-member editorial policy board, including SANE champion Norman Cousins.

Conservatives should act now to let their congressmen know their opposition to LBJ's Public Broadcasting Act.

Polls Good for Nixon

Insiders who expect to work out of the National Headquarters of the Nixon for President Committee, scheduled to open this week in Washington, are saying the former vice president is definitely planning to enter a number of presidential primaries in his bid for the 1968 GOP nomination. Because he lost the last two times out, Nixon feels he must satisfy the professionals that he still packs voter appeal. On this score, his backers and he are said to be particularly enamored with the latest South Dakota Poll.

NIXON

The poll shows that 58 per cent of the Republicans who responded preferred Nixon as the Republican presidential choice; Gov. George Romney came in second with 23 per cent; and Gov. Ronald Reagan garnered 16 per cent of the vote.

Conducted by the three largest newspapers in the state, the South Dakota survey is an old, established poll which has been operating for nearly 20 years with virtually unerring accuracy.

The poll, moreover, is said to reflect the consensus in a number of farm states. Thus the growing belief on the part of Nixon supporters that their man could more than hold his own in many of the nation's primaries.

Viet Smear Debunked

A few weeks ago, Edward M. Keating, the recently fallen financial angel of *Ramparts* magazine, was standing on a podium at Green River College in Washington State indulging in one of his favorite pastimes: denouncing U.S. involvement in Viet Nam. Speaking of the attack on American ships in the Gulf of Tonkin, which led to U.S. bombing in the north, Keating offered that "I have evidence that indicates that the Gulf of Tonkin incident did not take place, or that if it did take place, it did so at our instigation."

No sooner were the words out of his mouth than Gary Benz, a former seaman now studying electronics at Green River College, shot back: "On August 2, 1964, the [U.S. destroyer] Maddox was attacked by torpedoes and machine gun fire by three North Vietnamese PT boats [in the Gulf of Tonkin]. I know. I was there."

Suddenly facing a hushed audience and visibly stunned, Keating finally sputtered that this was the first time that he was aware "that anyone has supported the Gulf of Tonkin evidence. I want to talk to you alone afterwards."

In their ensuing private conversation, in which Keating tried to alter Benz' views on the Viet Nam war, Benz reported he told the man-from-*Ramparts* that he saw the attack on his radar scope, adding that the Communist attackers were 7,000 yards away when he spotted them. When Keating questioned his ability to make identification from that distance, Benz silenced him with the observation: "I have yet to see a junk that will do over 40 knots."

Clark Soft on Vietniks

Criticism of the U.S. Justice Department abounds in the halls of Congress these days. Rep. Edward Hebert (D.-La.), a member of the House Armed Services Committee, was fuming recently when a representative of the department, after stating he knew of no way to prosecute persons involved in openly advocating mass violation of the draft laws, even admitted the Justice Department didn't want to write any legislation along those lines.

HEBERT

Touching on the department's refusal to crack down on such activities, Rep. Richard Ichord (D.-Mo.) said he was appalled at the attorney general's stand in regard to Americans sending supplies and material aid to the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese.

"Last year," said Ichord, "I questioned the assistant attorney general of the United States, now the attorney general [Ramsey Clark] . . . in regard to such assistance by Viet Cong sympathizers in this country. . . .

"The situation is this: You have two laws on the books that could possibly curtail such activity. One is the Trading with the Enemy Act, and the other is the Export-Import Control Act. The attorney general contends that these laws are efficient and effective, but I believe the record very clearly shows that to date there has not been a single prosecution or a single indictment obtained under those laws."

Not only are they ineffective, said Ichord, but "any citizen in the United States under the present laws can go out and solicit money, supplies, military ammunition or anything else to send to the Viet Cong, and he will not be committing a criminal offense. . . ."

Worse still, Ichord implied, the attorney general refuses to support the Pool bill—up for reconsideration again this year—which would provide penalties for such activities.

Lamented Rep. Hebert: "[T]he Department of Justice says we cannot write an effective law [to combat attempts to aid the enemy] and not only shows no inclination to write it, but to assist us in writing it. And if we write it they have no intention of prosecuting it."

Such are the strange ways of Ramsey Clark's—and Lyndon Johnson's—Justice Department.

Tate Relies on Unions

The Democratic primary in Philadelphia last week proved that organized labor is not "dead" as a political force, an opinion some observers put forth following the 1966 elections. In the May 16 primary to choose the city's Democratic mayoral candidate for November, the AFL-CIO went all-out for incumbent James Tate, who had been denied endorsement by the ruling Democratic hierarchy in favor of City Comptroller Alexander Hemphill.

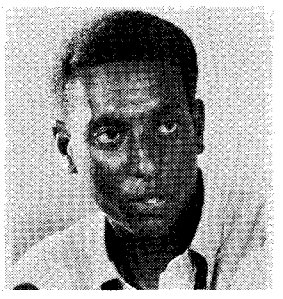
As the campaign moved into high gear, union halls were converted to Tate-for-Mayor headquarters; a former Democratic National Committee official—Matt Reese, who ran the registration division there under President Kennedy—was hired with union money to coordinate the campaign; a labor political organization was built in each of the city's 66 wards and money and manpower came from the Washington headquarters of the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education (COPE).

The result of labor's political toil was a resounding 2-to-1 victory for Tate, who now must face Democrat-turned-Republican Arlen Specter in the November finals.

The AFL-CIO and COPE will again be behind Tate, even though its ally, the ADA, is backing GOP liberal Specter.

Stokely's Links With RAM

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover's recently released congressional testimony that "Black Power" advocate Stokely Carmichael had connections with the pro-Peking Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) should not have surprised *Human Events* readers.


CARMICHAEL

On Aug. 6, 1966, page 3, we wrote: "Declaring that he is 'not opposed to violence,' Stokely Carmichael, militant chief of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, last week announced that he was 'joining hands' with the Black Muslims and the Revolutionary Action Movement. The latter is a super-secret black nationalist group, a number of whose leaders have undergone training in guerrilla warfare in Castro Cuba."

After noting that RAM founder Robert Franklin Williams had moved from Cuba to Red China, *Human Events* said: "RAM leaders are committed frankly to violence and repeatedly call for bloody revolution to overthrow the 'white power structure' and the 'vicious capitalist system.'"

Carmichael, who has refused to deny Hoover's charges, has moved to Washington to work with SNCC for home rule in Washington. Carmichael recently resigned as SNCC's national chairman.

• *Former U.S. Ambassador to Cuba Earl E. T. Smith says the Administration could deal a big blow against Fidel Castro by recognizing "a Cuban government in exile, preferably to be established outside the continental limits of the U.S." No former member of either the Castro or Batista regimes should be included in the government in exile, he contended.*

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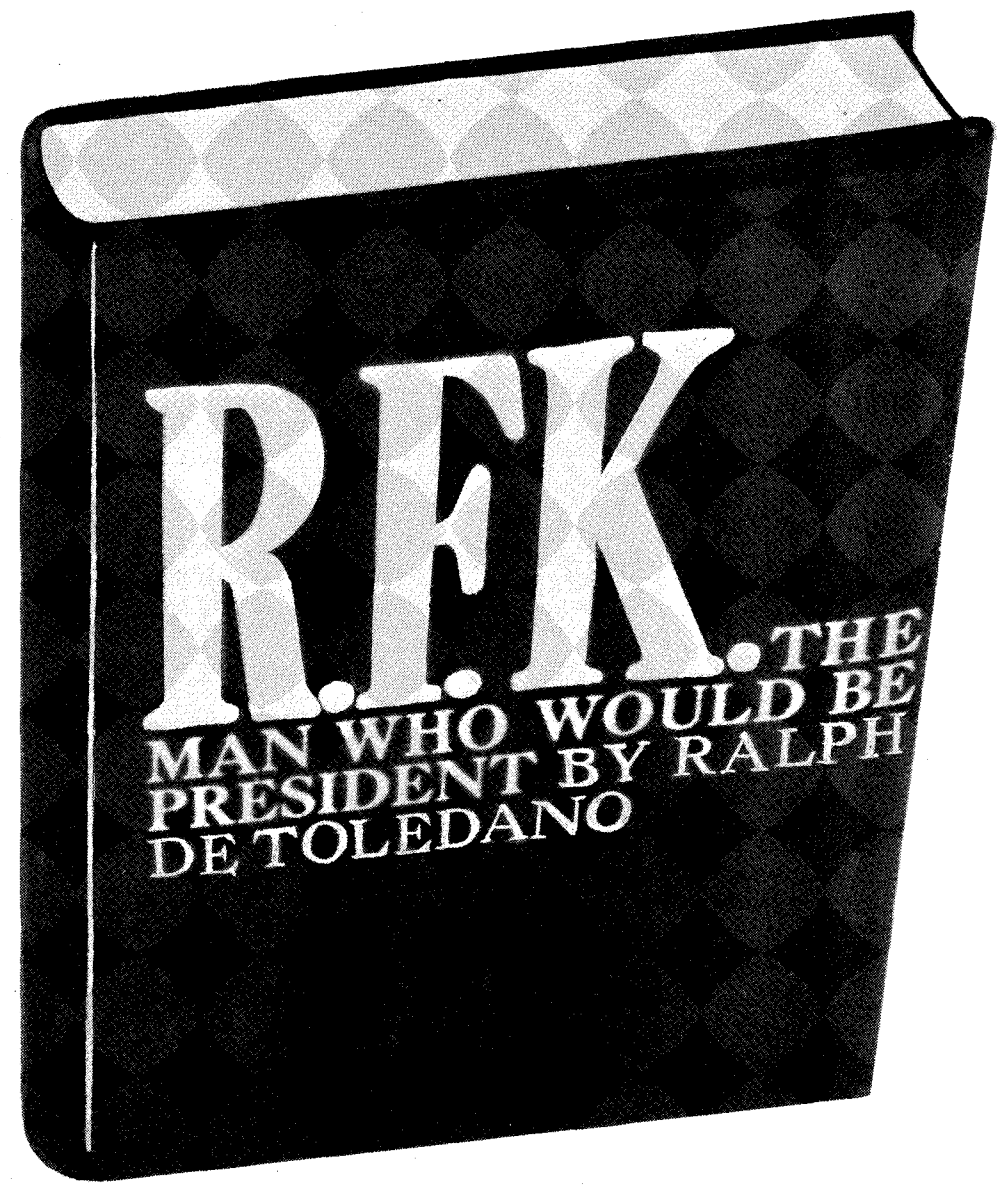

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Constitutional Convention Debate

What Are Liberals Afraid Of?

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

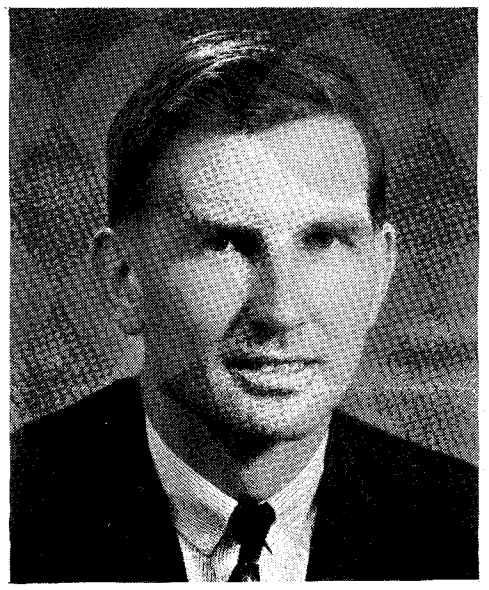
Nebraska's Sen. Roman Hruska performed a notable public service recently in his calm and reasoned statement on the federal constitutional convention now in the budding stage. His remarks provided an impressive contrast to the hysterics of Maryland's Sen. Joseph Tydings, who has come down with the fainting fits at the awful thought of the people exercising their sovereign power.

Article V of the U.S. Constitution, as many persons recently have discovered, contains a clear and explicit provision. Upon the applications of two-thirds of the states, acting through their legislatures, "the Congress shall call a convention for proposing amendments."

That word, "shall," cannot be misunderstood. In the same imperative sense, it apperars at least 155 times in the body of the original Constitution. The founding fathers had their ambiguous moments, but they drew a fine line between "shall" and "may." Here the plain commandment is that when a certain requirement is met, the Congress "shall call."

The requirement is that two-thirds of the states shall have applied, through their legislatures, for a convention. There are 50 states. Two-thirds of 50 is 34. By a new and definitive count, 32 states now have made such application. Sen. Hruska expects two more to apply within the next few weeks.

The question will then be squarely presented, to a body of men sworn to uphold the Constitution, whether they will in fact uphold the Constitution. Sen. Hruska may be in error when he argues that the congressional duty imposed by Article V is essentially ministerial, and not legislative, for an act or resolution setting up a constitutional



Sen. Joseph Tydings (D.-Md.) is one of the most vocal opponents of a constitutional convention.

convention would have to create some machinery never before devised. Even so, it cannot be assumed that the Constitution, which is the supreme law of the land, contains an unenforceable commandment. If Sen. Tydings is shocked by the prospect of a convention, he ought to ponder the far more shocking thought that Congress would place its will above the Constitution.

The proposed convention would be summoned primarily for the purpose of submitting an amendment to modify the Supreme Court's absolutist mandate for the composition of state legislatures. The idea is to amend the Constitution so as to permit the people within each state, if they choose, to provide for representation in one chamber of their legislature on a basis other than population.

Could the Congress, by the terms of a calling resolution, limit a convention to this single purpose? Perhaps so. More probably not. But the question is immaterial—for no proposal advanced by such a convention could become part of the Constitution until the proposals were ratified by three-fourths of the states.

As Sen. Hruska emphasized, this is the very heart of the matter. Why shouldn't the people have the kind of Constitution they want? The question answers itself, but Sen. Tydings will not listen to the answer. The people, he says, already have made it clear that they do not want the proposed revision of the rule of one man, one vote.

And how does the senator know this? Why, sir, he deduces this from the fact that efforts to obtain such a resolution in the Congress twice have failed to gain the required two-thirds vote in the Senate. In his view, senators somehow represent people; state legislatures do not. It is a nice conceit.

Tydings also complains that most of the 32 legislatures that have applied for a convention were mere "rotten borough legislatures, seeking to ratify their own illegality." The objection has no merit. If the resolution of a state legislature under Article V, asking for a convention, is illegal, then it would appear that a state's resolution under Article V ratifying a proposed amendment, must be equally invalid. Ten of the 11 constitutional amendments ratified since 1868 would fall on this contention.

The Maryland senator objects that some of the pending state resolutions, applying for a convention, date back to 1964; they are thus untimely; and besides, efforts are being made in some states to rescind them.

Hruska's solid response is that in matters of constitutional amendment, a time span of seven years has come to be accepted as a reasonable period for valid action. The law is long established that no state can rescind its affirmative act of ratification of an amendment; by the same rule, it would appear that no state could rescind the affirmative act of asking that a convention be called.

What is Tydings afraid of? Suppose a convention were called and suppose it adopted a dozen resolutions of proposed amendment—one man, one vote; school prayer; popular election of the President; four-year terms for members of the House. All these have suport in varying quarters. All that would happen would be that the states would then vote to ratify the amendments, or to reject them.

Is there anything wrong in that? It is wrong only in the eyes of those liberals in the Congress who conceive that they themselves, and not the people, somehow have become supreme custodians of the supreme law of the land.

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SURPRISE, SURPRISE—The American Civil Liberties Union is opposing legislation to make the desecration of the American flag a crime. Such a bill, testified ACLU spokesman Lawrence Speiser, would represent a denial of free expression. Speiser was the only witness appearing before the House Judiciary subcommittee to oppose the legislation, introduced by several dozen lawmakers.

Last week the U.S. combat death toll in Viet Nam soared past 10,000—a figure that would be much higher if helicopters were not available. Above, Marines evacuate wounded during fighting near the DMZ.

The Unions—Or the Union?

By MORRIE RYSKIND

The politico I distrust most is the demagogue who, appearing before a group of unionists, promises—his voice breaking with emotion—to defend the rights of labor against the predatory non-union hordes. He may never have read Karl Marx, but he preaches the same divisive doctrine of the class struggle.

What the devil is labor, anyhow? Is the work of the doctor, the lawyer, the minister, the farmer, the businessman and all the rest of us who toil and sweat at our jobs less noble than that of the teamster, the plumber and the auto-mechanic because we are not enrolled in powerful unions? If so, that is the caste system with a vengeance.

It so happens a good many of us untouchables are enrolled, willy-nilly, in some form of craft guild. I could wish, for freedom's sake, it were entirely willy. I have served in my time on the executive boards of both the Dramatists and the Screen Writers Guilds, but have always opposed compulsory membership. If a man is forced to join an organization to make his livelihood and his dues can be used to support causes he doesn't believe in, he is not a free man in my book.

So believing, I have fought "yellow dog" contracts that forbid a man to join a union, and opposed yellow dog contracts that force him to join. For precisely the same reason.

I have seen what the unlimited power of union bosses can bring about. Like communism, it does not become a dictatorship of the proletariat, but rather a dictatorship over the proletariat.

New York has just seen what a union boss can do—close down a newspaper with 800,000 readers and throw 2,500 men out of work. The boss won the battle, but surely it was a Pyrrhic victory, and I doubt that a grateful city—which once knew 20 different papers—will erect a monument to him.

But the most ominous strike of all was that of the mechanics at the helicopter factory while our men in Viet Nam were so desperately in need of that type of aircraft, credited with saving thousands of lives by speeding the wounded to hospitals.

I simply cannot believe that patriotism is so outmoded that Americans would haggle at such a time. Further, with some 450,000 men in Viet Nam—and a probable 150,000 more by December—it is incredible that none of the strikers had a son or another close relative either on the battle line or shortly due there.

And yet there is no report that even one of them walked through the strike lines, saying "Damn it! My duty to the American Union comes before that to this union." Had he done so, he would surely have been greeted with cries of "Scab!" And, in all likelihood, never have worked again.

That's what compulsion—and fear—can do. We have made such a fetish of unionism that few dare to question any decision, however wrong, it makes. The White House didn't speak out—probably because that would have been regarded as "anti-labor" and brought retribution at the polls. It is apparently all right to scab against American boys who are dying, but not against a union leader. That is treason.

Is there a remedy? Well, Gov. Reagan of California, himself a union leader for many years, has asked for a law that will grant union members the right of a secret ballot when voting on questions of vital policy. Such as, to name a few, "pension plans, welfare programs . . . whether the union should engage in political activity . . . whether the union should strike or engage in picketing. . . the terms in any collective bargaining agreement," et cetera.

The difference such a secret ballot would make is that it would enfranchise the members. As it is, the boss—or his henchmen—can spot you by the show of hands—and woe if you don't vote their way.

The bill is backed, I am happy to say, by unionist Rollie Peterson, who last year stopped the executive board of the Los Angeles Union of Operating Engineers from donating $50,000 out of the treasury for the campaign of Pat Brown. Taking a calculated risk, Peterson brought his fight to the general membership—and won.

If the bill passes here, it may catch on elsewhere, too. And it is just possible that, in that case, the men on our battlefront may never again have to face a shortage of helicopters.

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SUGGESTION FOR BOBBY—"Now that Bobby Kennedy has negotiated the Hudson River rapids in a canoe the New York State GOP Committee respectfully calls his attention to Niagara Falls."—By Jack Wilson in the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

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Would Be Unannounced

Rusk and McNamara Urge New Bombing Pause

From the Allen-Scott Report

Suspension of the bombing of North Viet Nam for an unspecified time is being urged on President Johnson by his two top Cabinet members—Secretaries Rusk and McNamara.

The bombing pause would be put into effect without announcement.

However, word of it would be conveyed to Hanoi through diplomatic and other channels. The Ho Chi Minh regime would be informed the United States is prepared to end bombing if steps are taken to open negotiations.

Rusk and McNamara are counseling this course on the President in the hope of averting further escalation of the steadily intensifying conflict. They view Russia's repeated avowals to increase combat shipments to North Viet Nam as extremely foreboding and as leading inevitably to greater expansion of the war.

In a new effort to find a way to bring Hanoi to the conference table, Rusk and McNamara are telling the President it would be worth taking a chance to risk a bombing pause.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff are flatly opposed to the proposal.

In a formal written statement to the President the military leaders argue a suspension of bombing would enable North Viet Nam to powerfully reinforce its forces and supplies in South Viet Nam at a crucial period. The Joint Chiefs point out that with the rainy season due to start within a few weeks, Hanoi would use the lull to prepare large-scale offensives in the seriously endangered Second and Third Corps areas.

Already, U.S. and South Viet Nam forces are seriously strained in these sectors owing to the transfer of large numbers of troops to the First Corps area near the demilitarized zone.

The Joint Chiefs contend that a bombing pause would severely intensify these difficult situations.

The Joint Chiefs' stand has received unexpected support from an Iron Curtain diplomat at the United Nations.

This official, who has given U.S. authorities reliable information in the past, has let it be known that Russia is preparing to send ground-to-ground missiles with a range of 200 miles to North Viet Nam.

These missiles would give the Reds the capability of bombarding Saigon and major U.S. military bases in South Viet Nam.

It is already known that shorter-range rockets are being installed by North Viet Nam on its side of the demilitarized zone. These Soviet rockets have ranges from four to 12 miles.

★ ★ ★

More than a score of 200-millimeter rockets and launchers have arrived in Cuba from Russia.

These ground-to-ground rockets with a range up to 12 miles are similar to those used by North Viet Nam in recent weeks to batter U.S. bases and airfields in South Viet Nam.

In Cuba, the rockets are being installed in fortified positions that ring the big U.S. naval base at Guantanamo.

The arrival of these rockets and large quantities of other Russian weapons, including MIG jet fighters and SAM ground-to-air missiles, has been disclosed to the House Armed Services Committee by military and intelligence authorities. As previously reported in this column, they stated that in one seven-day period some 70 Soviet-bloc ships unloaded tightly guarded cargoes in Cuba.

The committee has also been told that under orders issued by Defense Secretary McNamara no details of this ominous development can be revealed.

The following are two graphic illustrations of McNamara's suppression of significant information regarding the disturbing Cuban situation:

Rep. Samuel Stratton (D.-N.Y.), member of the House Armed Services Committee, after learning about the huge Russian arms shipments to Cuba, wired McNamara asking about the matter. In reply an assistant of the defense secretary phoned Stratton and asked:

"Do you want a classified or unclassified statement? If it is for your constituents, we will send you an unclassified statement that you can make public. If it's for your own information in connection with your committee work, we will send you a statement stamped 'Secret.' That cannot be made public."

Stratton declared he wanted both statements—but so far has received neither.

In the other instance, Sen. Margaret Chase Smith, of Maine, ranking Republican on the Senate Armed Services Committee, sent a similar inquiry to McNamara.

The next day she got a report stamped "Secret."

As a consequence, Mrs. Smith is unable to reveal the information conveyed to her by McNamara on the large increase of Russian arms shipments to Cuba. She is conferring with other committee members on what to do about this.

Rep. Armistead Selden Jr. (D.-Ala.), chairman, summoned Robert Stevenson, State Department coordinator of Cuban affairs, to brief the subcommittee. At the last minute, he sent word he was unable to appear because of a sudden attack of "flu."

Stevenson's "illness" forced Selden to postpone his inquiry. But he is not giving up. He is now trying to arrange a briefing by the Central Intelligence Agency.

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Poff Corrects 'Brutality' Record

From the Washington *Evening Star*

A press release accompanying the recent report on police activity by the President's Crime Commission had this to say:

"Physical abuse, the unnecessary or clearly excessive use of force, has been frequent in the past and continues to a reduced, but significant, extent today. Observers in a study of police practices on the street witnessed 20 such instances in several Northern cities; verbal abuse or disrespect is undoubtedly far more frequent."

Rep. Richard Poff (R.-Va.), thought that this should be put in proper perspective. So he told the House that the Crime Commission's observers had witnessed a total of 5,339 "encounters" between police and citizens.

Thus, the 20 cases cited (more than half of them involved whites) constituted less than four-tenths of 1 per cent of the total. Turned around, this means that the commission observers found nothing wrong with the police performance in 99.6 per cent of the encounters that were witnessed.

The trouble here is with the press release, not with the full report by the commission. For if one wades through the report to page 182 the complete information will be found.

Additional significant information can be found in the full text (page 145) of the report. This information, based on FBI statistics, shows that in 1965 there were 20,523 assaults on policemen, that 6,836 officers were injured, and that 53 were killed—all of this at the hands of civilians.

So the police come out looking pretty good. Twenty officers, less than four-tenths of 1 per cent in the observed cases, guilty of using unnecessary or excessive force against civilians. A total of 27,412 officers assaulted, injured or killed in a single year by civilians. Yet the outcry against "police brutality" goes on and on and on.

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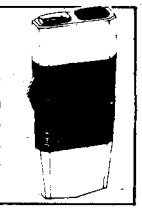

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Sen. Hickenlooper, There's a Dove in Your Kitchen

A not-too-sympathetic analysis of the GOP Policy Committee's staff report on Viet Nam

By M. STANTON EVANS

A survey of the Vietnamese war issued as a "staff report" of the Senate Republican Policy Committee has excited justifiable consternation.

Praised by Sen. J. William Fulbright (D.-Ark.) and attacked by leading Republicans, the report (see *Human Events*, May 13, 1967, page 3) is an anomaly in foreign policy and domestic politics alike. Sen. John Tower (R.-Tex.) disowns the document on both grounds, attacking its substantive position and declaring its release in the wake of Gen. William Westmoreland's appearance before Congress "a classic political mistake."[1]

The report, entitled "The War in Viet Nam," takes a dove-like stance on the current conflict, obviously trying to outflank President Johnson on the left. Along the way it relies heavily on the brand of argument used by Democrats William Fulbright and Robert Kennedy. The Republicans it refers to, like Sen. Jacob Javits, are almost exclusively of the liberal-left variety.

The Javits citations are doubly interesting in view of the fact that the report was drawn up pursuant to a motion made by him and received his hearty endorsement. In contrast to Javits' continuing and apparently knowledgeable interest, Sen. Bourke Hickenlooper of Iowa, the conservative Republican who chairs the Policy Committee, says he authorized release of the survey without reading it.[2]

As if these peculiarities were not striking enough, the document turns out to be replete with clumsy distortion. Far from being a "well-documented historical report" as suggested by GOP Senate Leader Everett Dirksen[3], it is a tissue of begged questions and anti-history closely paralleling the cut-and-run literature of the Vietnik agitators.

"The War in Viet Nam" is a turgid fantasy in which Ho Chi Minh is portrayed as an authentic representative of Vietnamese "nationalism," a worthy spirit whose rightful ambitions have been successively frustrated by France, South Viet Nam and the United States. In support of this thesis, whole blocks of historical fact are systematically suppressed and "New Left" representations about Viet Nam are plastered over with a "Republican" label.

'Nationalist' Ho

In the opening pages of the report we are treated to a picture of Ho Chi Minh as "the principal rallying agent for underground factions" against the Japanese during World War II and subsequently as "the leader of Vietnamese nationalism," whose forces "had reason to expect U.S. support for their claim to independence" from the French. But, we are told, America, Britain and France combined to deny these rightful aspirations, and *"thereafter"* there "began an eight-year colonial war. . . ." (Emphasis added.)[4]

The clear implication is that blame for launching the Indochinese war rests with the anti-Communist powers. One does not have to be a partisan of the confused Western performance in Southeast Asia to note that the facts were decidedly otherwise. The Viet Communists had begun their agitations during the 1930s and staged an armed uprising as early as 1940. Their determination to take over by one means or another had nothing to do with French action or reaction. The only thing determined by the Western performance was whether the takeover would be peaceful and easy, or violent and difficult.

When the 1940 *putsch* failed, Ho Chi Minh established the Viet Minh front, under instructions from Moscow, with the object of creating a Red network for employment in post-war revolution. His Communist activities caused the Chinese Nationalists to order his arrest in 1942. In August 1944 the Viet Minh openly circulated plans for an uprising during the anticipated confusion of war's end.

Terrorism Ignored

In 1945 the Viet Minh began systematic terror operations and established Communist-style rule in "liberated" areas of the north. Ho asserted his claim as "leader of Vietnamese nationalism" by the time-honored Communist practice of killing and imprisoning rival nationalist leaders as "collaborators" and undermining a broad-gauge nationalist group called the Dong Minh Hoi. Merely par for the course for the "nationalist" Ho, a cadre Communist since 1920 and a founder of the French Communist party.[5]

All of these things occurred *before* the alleged Western betrayal which supposedly provoked the Viet Minh war against the French. None of them is mentioned in the GOP report.

Identical treatment is given the Geneva Accords of 1954 and the Vietnamese elections which were supposed to result from them. According to the report, Ho Chi Minh made great and magnanimous concessions at Geneva, expecting the elections to be carried out in good faith. But, the document tells us, South Vietnamese Premier Ngo Dinh Diem welshed, calling off the elections and taking other actions "which made the renewal of revolutionary guerrilla warfare both inevitable and successful."[6]

Again, the onus for provoking hostilities is placed on the anti-Communists rather than the Communists. The report clearly implies that it was Diem, not Ho, who broke the Geneva agreements.

What are the facts? The truth is that long before the 1956 elections were to be held, the Vietnamese Communists had already torn the Geneva agreements to shreds. In international law, the accords were null and void as a direct result of Communist violations.

Among these violations:

(1) The Geneva agreements specified withdrawal of regular armed forces from South Viet Nam without further violence. The North Viet withdrawal was in fact accompanied by killings, lootings, destruction of property, theft of documents and kidnappings.[7]

(2) The agreements prohibited "resumption of hostilities" in Viet Nam. Communist irregulars left behind in South Viet Nam, explicitly spurred on by the seraphic Ho, began military and terror operations against the Saigon government in 1955.[8]

(3) The agreements prohibited incursions upon the "territorial integrity" of the various Indochinese states. By the end of 1955 thousands of Communist agents from the north were reported to be infiltrating into South Viet Nam.[9]

(4) The Geneva agreements specified that civilians in the two halves of Viet Nam should be allowed to relocate if they so desired. In 1955, when the disparity between the number of civilians voluntarily moving south (861,000) and north (5,000) became apparent, the Communists closed off the border and refused to let other refugees depart.[10]

(5) The agreements specified that no one would be compelled to settle in either of the two Viet Nams against his will. To beef up the northward migration, the Communists began abducting people from the south. No less than 32,000 petitions protesting this practice were filed with the International Control Commission (ICC).[11]

(6) The agreements prohibited introduction of new weapons or outside military help in either of the Viet Nams. Between 1954 and 1956, Ho Chi Minh's armed strength grew from seven to 20 divisions and he received substantial military aid from Communist China. Dur-

U.S. artillerymen shell Viet Cong emplacements near the Cambodian border.

Who Really Broke Geneva Accords?

As Mr. Evans notes, the Senate Republican Policy Committee staff report on Viet Nam attempts to place the blame for breaking the Geneva Agreements on the late President Diem and the government of South Viet Nam. Overlooked by the staff were the authoritative statements of Canadian career foreign service officer Theodore Blockley, who during 1957 and 1958 was the senior political adviser to the Canadian member of the International Control Commission established by the Geneva Agreements. In a letter to Sen. Thomas Dodd (D.-Conn.) in 1965, Blockley stated:

"The study of the Geneva Agreements (1954) I was called on to make in connection with the performance of my duties led me to the firm conclusion that no legal or moral obligations devolved upon the government of South Viet Nam from the operation of the agreement relating to Viet Nam.

"As signatories of the agreement, both France and North Viet Nam are in breach of the agreement, but it is absurd to talk of the United States or South Viet Nam, who opposed the agreement, as having 'broken' it.

"In any event, the agreement was hardly signed before the Communist North Vietnamese government had breached it. Although almost a million non-Communists managed to get away from North Viet Nam as the French were surrendering (an extraordinary mass 'voting with the feet' to which I have seen little reference recently), the agreement provided for exit permits for all others who wished to leave.

"These were denied tens of thousands of persons of whom the commission had knowledge; how many millions more there were of whom the commission had no knowledge we shall never know. The commission does know there was a large-scale revolt in one of the provinces of North Viet Nam, largely over this matter of the refusal of the North Vietnamese authorities to issue the exit permits which had been promised the local population, and to which they were entitled under the agreement. Canadians serving on the commission's local team saw evidence of suppression of the revolt with their own eyes, and received full accounts, but the commission would not and could not do anything about it.

"Early attempts by some Canadians and a very few Indians to insist that the North Vietnamese carry out the terms of the agreement in respect to certain individuals were tantamount to sentences of death for them."

Mr. Evans, a former managing editor of Human Events, *is editor of the Indianapolis* News. *Among his books are* The Liberal Establishment *and* The Politics of Surrender.

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ing this same period South Viet Nam's military strength was drastically reduced by the withdrawal of the French.[12]

(7) The agreements specified that inspection teams under the ICC should insure against introduction of new weapons and personnel. These inspection teams have never been allowed to function in North Viet Nam.[13]

(8) The agreements specified cessation of hostilities in Laos. The Vietnamese Communists violated this provision from the start by fueling Pathet Lao aggressions, as they continue to do even now. They are also, of course, in flagrant violation of the 1962 Geneva agreements on Laos.[14]

These are among the facts the "Republican" report somehow forgot to mention. The authors would have us believe that Diem, who protested the Geneva Accords from the beginning and refused to sign, was responsible for violating the agreement; but that the Communists, who did sign the accords and violated the terms with renewed aggressions before the ink was dry, are the injured parties.

One of the principal efforts of the report is to suggest that the Eisenhower Administration shared its dove-like sentiments. President Eisenhower is quoted, for example, as saying that if an all-Viet election had been held "as of the time of the fighting," Ho Chi Minh might have gotten 80 per cent of the vote against Bao Dai, the pre-Diem leader sponsored by the French.

More on Geneva

In connection with the 1954 Geneva Agreements, Prof. Frank N. Traeger, a widely respected expert on Southeast Asia and Viet Nam in particular, has written: "Any breach of the articles of the agreement by any of the contracting parties automatically suspends or destroys the basis for compliance by other contracting or related parties. . . .

"Any objective examination of the post-Geneva conduct of North Viet Nam with respect to the key provisions of the agreements—military matters, treatment of civilian populations in the zone of the south from which its cadres were to depart and in its own territory and aiding and abetting international subversion—yields data sufficient to declare that the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam violated the agreements almost as soon as they were signed."

The effect of this quote taken in isolation is to underscore the report's argument that there was a "hopeless political situation" in Viet Nam, that Diem would have lost a "popularity" contest with Ho, and that this accounts for Diem's failure to hold the elections.[15] The authors ignore the Eisenhower State Department's 1956 assertion that "we support President Diem fully in his position that if elections are to be held, there must first be conditions which preclude intimidation or coercion of the electorate. Unless such conditions exist there can be no free choice."[16]

The fact of the case, well-known to Diem and the Eisenhower State Department alike, was that an authentic "election" involving the despotically governed north was an impossibility.

That Ho would have defeated Diem in a fair election is also to be doubted. It is interesting to note that the allegedly popular Ho somehow managed never to have an election in North Viet Nam for 16 years after the one-party "elections" of 1946. Diem had by way of contrast gone before the electorate four different times, and while the first balloting was unquestionably rigged, the later ones featured contests with authentic opposition.

The report further states that Eisenhower believed the solution in Viet Nam was "political, not military"—implying that Republican policy was opposed to U.S. military defense of Viet Nam. This is perhaps the most disingenuous part of the report, since it totally omits the fact that the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), under whose terms we are committed to just such military action, was a creation of the Eisenhower regime.

Eisenhower statements on this subject which the authors do *not* quote (taken from the same chapter as the passage they do quote) include: "[*The SEATO*] *pact proclaims that each party recognizes that armed attack against any one of them in the treaty area endangers its own peace and safety and that each will act to meet the common danger. The agreement was directed specifically to the repelling of Communist aggression. . . . The dilemma of finding a moral, legal and practical basis for helping our friends of the region need not face us again.*" (Emphasis added.)[17]

Finally, having tried to discredit the Democratic Administration on the one point at which it is unquestionably right, the report actually covers up for the Democratic Administration where it has been most scandalously wrong.

Distortions on Diem

It completely misrepresents, for example, the circumstances surrounding Diem's overthrow in the fall of 1963. It rehearses the by-now discredited fable that Diem was engaged in religious persecution of the Buddhists, and neglects to point out that Buddhist leader Thich Tri Quang had ties to the north and was engaged in political, not religious, agitation.[18]

Also omitted is the fact that the Kennedy Administration set out on a cold-blooded vendetta against Diem, cutting off aid, issuing Voice of America communiques inciting Viet generals to revolt, and publicly disowning him through public statements by Kennedy and the actions of Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge.

All of this is glossed over in the GOP Senate report as if it were of no significance. Thus this allegedly "Republican" document omits criticism of the Democratic performance precisely where it cries out for criticism.

The same applies to the tactical restrictions, supply shortages, and "privileged sanctuary" policies which have crippled the war effort, U.S. failure to secure a halt to allied shipping to Hanoi, and American trade with the Soviets who are in turn supplying 80 per cent of North Viet Nam's war materiel.

Another favored axiom of the Vietniks incorporated into the GOP report is the argument that the United States has unwisely thrust itself into purely indigenous, civil conflict.

The study stresses that American involvement means "fighting a people who claim this is a civil war," and adds a bit later: " . . . in the eyes of many Asiatics, we are fighting against indigenous Asiatic nationalism, much as France did in the past."

The implications of these remarks are at variance with the facts. While some Asiatic leaders may agree with the study, the responsible leaders in Thailand, Malaysia, South Korea, Nationalist China, Singapore and the Philippines have made it indisputably clear that they believe the United States is not suppressing some form of legitimate nationalism, but is resisting a determined Communist aggressor.

Even the late historian Bernard Fall, who was somewhat "doveish," commented on the artificial nature of the NLF.

Indeed, even many leaders in Japan and India have supported our intervention and the government of Laos, which is ostensibly neutral, has been overtly and covertly aiding American soldiers in the field.

Captured enemy arms, prisoners and documents make clear the fact that this is not a civil war, but is primarily run from North Viet Nam.

An exhaustive study of the National Liberation Front, the political arm of the Viet Cong, has been made by foreign service officer Douglas Pike, an expert on Asia who was attached to the U.S. Embassy in Saigon from 1961 to 1966.

Basing his research on some 800 documents captured in battle and on interviews with 100 ex-Viet Cong, Pike has this to say about the National Liberation Front:

"The National Liberation Front was not simply another indigenous covert group, or even a coalition of such groups. It was an organizational steamroller, nationally conceived and nationally organized, endowed with ample cadres and funds, crashing out of the jungle. . . . It projected a social construction program of such scope and ambition that of necessity it must have been created in Hanoi and imported. A revolutionary organization must build; it begins with persons suffering genuine grievances. . . . Exactly the reverse was the case with the NLF. It sprang full-blown into existence and then was fleshed out. The grievances were developed or manufactured as a necessary afterthought. The creation of the NLF was an accomplishment of such skill, precision and refinement that when one thinks of who the master planner must have been, only one name comes to mind: Viet Nam's organizational genius, Ho Chi Minh."[19]

Bernard Fall Agreed

A similar verdict of the NFL was reached by the late Bernard B. Fall, an acknowledged authority on Viet Nam and something of a "dove" in later years.

"The wholly artificial character of the National Liberation Front, at least during the first year of its operation," Fall wrote, " is perhaps best shown by the fact that until April 13, 1962, it had not disclosed the names of its alleged leaders, in spite of the fact that its program had been made public almost at the inception of the Front."[20]

In short, the GOP staff report gives itself away by criticizing the Administration almost exclusively *from the left*—a wrinkle which suggests the document is more than a cagy partisan attempt to make capital of the war, as bad as that would be. The document is an almost wholesale adoption—mitigated only by two or three isolated paragraphs in restrained criticism of the Communists and suggesting, most obscurely, that previous firmness might have produced better results—of the Fulbright-Vietnik position. It is a bald attempt to capitalize on peacenik agitation.

In an interview with the Washington *Post* the GOP staff members who supposedly authored the report describe themselves as "conservative" and say the position they are taking is an isolationist one. They suggest that Sen. Fulbright's neo-isolationism is essentially conservative, too.[21] The report in fact has nothing to do with "isolationism" or conservatism.

True isolationism is an outlook which, quite correctly, places "America first" above ideas of global philanthropy or reformism. Its objective is to insure that foreign policy serves the national interest. But nothing disserves the national interest quite so badly as misrepresentations about the enemy. And misrepresentation is what this report, from start to finish, provides.

Wishing Won't Help

A true isolationist-conservative critique of our Viet Nam involvement would suggest greater reliance on strategic power, employment of Asian troops to stem the aggression, and *then* a corresponding reduction of American manpower. It would not confine itself to matters which are distasteful to the left. Nor would it attempt to wish away the fact of Communist aggression or misrepresent the nature of the crisis.

The GOP staff report makes no suggestion for greater use of strategic power or proxy troops; in fact, the comments it does make about strategic power strongly hint that augmented bombing of North Viet Nam is a mistake. Again, a repetition of the Vietnik line.

Un-facts and counsels of retreat are bad enough coming from the "New Left," but even worse when they are issued with a Republican label. GOP officeholders in Washington should follow Sen. Tower's example and repudiate this misbegotten manifesto in no uncertain terms.

1. Washington *Post*, May 7, 1967
2. Raymond Moley column, Indianapolis *News*, May 16, 1967
3. Washington *Post, loc. cit.*
4. "The War in Viet Nam," report prepared by the staff of the Senate Republican Policy Committee, pp. 5-9
5. See Denis Warner, *The Last Confucian* (Penguin, 1964) pp. 41-53; Bernard B. Fall, *Street Without Joy* (Stackpole, 1961), pp. 21-26; Chester A. Bain, *Viet Nam: The Roots of Conflict* (Prentice-Hall, 1967, pp. 105-117; Fall, *The Two Viet Nams* (Praeger, 1963), p. 130 *et seq.*
6. "The War in Viet Nam," p. 27
7. Frank Traeger, *Why Viet Nam?* (Praeger, 1966), pp. 94-95
8. *Ibid.*; Bernard B. Fall, *Viet Nam Witness* (Praeger, 1966), p. 76
9. Bain, *op. cit.*, p. 125
10. Traeger, *op. cit.*, p. 97
11. Bain, *op. cit.*, p. 119
12. Fall, *Viet Nam Witness*, p. 78; Bain, *op. cit.*, p. 120
13. Traeger, *op. cit.*, p. 98
14. Warner, *op. cit.*, pp. 247-248
15. "The War in Viet Nam," pp. 13, 17, 26
16. Bain, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-123; Fall, *Viet Nam Witness*, p. 78
17. Dwight D. Eisenhower, *Mandate for Change* (Doubleday, 1963), p. 374
18. Marguerite Higgins, *Our Viet Nam Nightmare* (Harper & Row, 1965), pp. 25-35 and *passim*
19. Douglas Pike, *Viet Cong* (MIT Press, 1966), p. 76
20. Fall, *The Two Viet Nams*, page 356
21. Washington *Post*, May 7, 1967

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Do French Like DeGaulle's Anti-Americanism?

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

New York's Paris-American Club is the hard-core center of Franco-American relations in the United States. Recently its members heard an earful on the subject: "Have the French lost their touch?"

The dismayed speaker was internationally famous restauranteur Antoine Gilly, who on one hand was cheered to the rafters by the audience while the official representatives of the French government walked out.

Can Gen. de Gaulle trust his new Soviet allies?

The official's walkout itself typifies the de Gaulle government's stupid failure to recognize how far its policics have strained our good will. And what could be more dumb (and unjust) than to stimulate attitudes inside France that kill off our needed hearts and dollars alike?

Today, for the first time, more Americans visit Italy than France, and each visitor's stay in Italy averages twice as long as in France. France's loss is also Spain's gain, Scandinavia's gain, a marvelous gain nearly everyplace else in Europe. The French themselves estimate their loss of American visitors to the Riviera alone at 30 to 35 per cent last year. Meanwhile, American capital investment is being repelled from France, fed up with being treated like a bulldog treats a tramp.

Monsieur Gilly recalled the largely lost French touch, the feeling of savoir faire the French created so well that made people feel at home in their lovely land instead of being made to feel like unwanted tourists, and even as enemies.

He repeated what this column has repeated many times; namely, that President de Gaulle's systematic anti-Americanism does not please the French majority, and is, in fact, one reason for de Gaulle's decline in popularity.

Millions of ordinary French men and women see in his anti-American program the seeds of France's self-destruction, not France's salvation. And the further that mystic de Gaulle goes in this campaign the wider the gap grows between de Gaulle and these mystified millions.

They remember 1917 and the catastrophe of 1940. They know that each time the United States did not fail. America went to help France expel her invaders, liberate her sons from prisons, help France recover her independence and her liberties and the right to regain a place among civilized powers.

Millions in France ask, as Monsieur Gilly asked, what the Americans have done to deserve such treatment as de Gaulle and a howling minority dish out today.

Is it America's fault that the French have not yet achieved our standard of living? Our taxpayers' colossal postwar economic aid to France, all gratis, exceeded our aid to any other country in the world.

Is it America's fault that NATO is outmoded? France has received about twice as much postwar military aid from us as any U.S. ally. Inside France our NATO investment loss when de Gaulle threw us out exceeded $2.5 billion.

De Gaulle has flattered himself to have gained independence from the United States. To butter up the Russians he wanted American forces out of France. But, although this vastly weakens his protection of us, he does not want to abandon America's protection of him.

De Gaulle has taken mighty good care that we must still come to the aid of France. We are still obligated to do so under the Brussels Treaty of March 17, 1948, which formed the Western European Alliance, NATO's predecessor.

In creating a de facto Moscow-Peking-Paris Axis, can de Gaulle trust his acquired friends? They have sworn the destruction of exactly the liberties that made France the only large democracy ever to survive in continental Europe.

Is the Soviet Union to be trusted when only the other day two of its top spies were revealed as penetrating the Elysee Palace and Italy uncovered another ring composed of parachutists that had photographed secret installations all over Europe for the Soviet Embassy in Paris?

Dismayed Monsieur Gilly attributed much of the French minority antagonism against the United States to the way the de Gaulle government's desire to see the Americans go home is posted on France's walls and constantly pounded at Americans on television, radio and in newspapers.

Millions in France know the score in this tragedy even if de Gaulle and his arrogant yes-men who represent him here do not.

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Spanking Junior Now Makes You a Communist

By DR. MAX RAFFERTY, California Superintendent of Public Instruction

Today, beleaguered fellow parents, we start off with a little example of Illogic Unlimited. Consider if you will the following effusion by a University of Chicago psychologist who rejoices in the name of Bruno Bettleheim:

"Many parents slap their children, or spank them. This is an exercise in force, comparing your size and his. When the Russians do it to the Hungarians, you don't like it, but in the family it's considered all right. If you like a world ruled by force, where whoever's stronger beats down the weaker, then by all means go on spanking your children."

Before we get into the real meat-and-potatoes implications of this deathless message, let's isolate and identify a few of its logical fallacies, just to get a little workout and keep in shape.

1. "Spanking children is an exercise in force."

Yep. So is yanking them back on the sidewalk when they wander innocently out onto a busy street. Or jerking them away from a hot stove. Or even snatching the pretty, sweet-tasting ant paste out of their eager little mouths. So what?

2. "When the Russians do it to the Hungarians, you don't like it."

No, sir, I do not. And when we American parents start machine-gunning our offspring, smashing them to a jelly with huge steel tanks and executing the survivors in batches of 10, I won't like that either. So far, however, I know of no place in the good old U.S.A. where Mom and Pop have been indulging in this kind of Grand Guignol horseplay. Not even in Chicago.

3. "In the family, this is considered all right."

In whose family?

4. "If you like a world ruled by force, then by all means go on spanking your children."

Logic according to Dr. Bettleheim. Let's carry it a little further.

How about: "If you like a world which isn't housebroken, then by all means go on putting diapers on your children."

Or: "If you like a world with bands on its teeth, then by all means go on taking your kids to the orthodontist."

Or even: "If you like a world which sleeps half the time, then by all means go on putting Junior to bed at 8 every night."

Now aside from these minor logical discrepancies, what about the good doctor's principal pitch?

He's really asking us to believe that children and adults should be equated—that they are exactly alike—that Junior is actually a full-grown man in miniature, with all a man's judgment and discretion, instead of that most different, maverick and completely individualistic of all organisms: a boy.

Even if this whopping non sequitur premise should happen to be true, and if children were genuine midgets with a certain growth potential instead of the precious, unique things they really are, it still wouldn't necessarily follow that spanking should be completely ruled out.

Some adults I'm acquainted with should be spanked resoundingly now and then, and a few we all know ought to be beaten regularly, like gongs.

But the premise isn't true. Kids are raw material, not the finished product. Like all raw material, they have to be shaped and molded and refined. In human affairs this process is called education. And a good, swift smack on the childish gluteus maximus is occasionally the most effective and the most sensible way to make a long-remembered point.

Certainly there are better long-run teaching techniques than the stupid, often brutal hickory-stick floggings of some of yesterday's homes and schools. But I greatly doubt that Dr. Bettelheim's comparisons of mother's willow switch with Stalin's steel tanks, or Junior's naughtiness with the revolt of the Hungarian Freedom Fighters, is going to help very much in arriving at a more widespread use of those superior techniques.

After all, the gentlest people in all history, from the early Christians to the placid Polynesians, have spanked their children. And Armageddon, praise be, is not yet upon us.

(Copyright 1967, Los Angeles *Times*)

Rep. Fino vs. Mayor Lindsay

NEW YORK DAILY NEWS

Rep. Paul Fino (R.-N.Y.) has been carrying on a running battle with liberal GOP Mayor John Lindsay, who wants to remove Fino from his post as Bronx Republican chairman. So, up went the above sign for a few hours until city employes hauled it down. That's Fino giving the victory sign.

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King Constantine, center, meets with the new Greek cabinet. The king has said that it was his "fervent wish that the country shall revert to parliamentary government as soon as possible."

Military Junta in Greece May Be Boon to Free World

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

As an opponent of encroachment upon the Congress by the executive and judicial branches of the American government, I consider myself a better democrat than those Americans who wish to reform our friends while urging accommodation with undemocratic enemies.

Nonetheless, I shed no tears over the military coup that for the time being, at least, has scotched the danger of a pro-Communist and neutralist government in Greece.

Not that I am a friend of military governments. In 1936 at Athens, I made a study of the pro-fascist dictatorship of Gen. Ioannis Metaxas and did not like it. But that was established to prevent a general strike, the aim of which was to establish a near-Communist regime.

Objective reports have left no doubt that the former premier's Communist party members, more or less camouflaged as members of ELAS, were engaged in a plot which, if successful, would have led to a "neutral people's democracy."

The military coup and his own arrest were hard on former Premier George Papandreou, who had fought ELAS in the '40s. But he brought them upon himself when he refused to take action against the conspirators or recognize that his son Andreas was a party to it.

If the military junta sticks to its promise of bringing the country "back to normal political life as soon as possible," then the interim military government will have been a boon not only to the majority of Greeks but to the entire free world.

This will not be easy. As a witty Frenchman once remarked, it is as difficult to remove a military government as it is to get a brushful of toothpaste back into the tube. Yet, with the help of the courageous young king and the support of Greece's Western allies, it can be done.

Meanwhile, it is reassuring to know that U.S. Ambassador Phillips Talbot has "re-established contact" with the new government.

Already I hear the shrieks of American reformers, the same who applauded our extension of diplomatic recognition to the rebel Yemenites and our support of a leftish fascist like Nasser of the United Arab Republic; who condemned President Johnson's rescue of the Dominican Republic; and who see nothing wrong in letting Ho Chi Minh seize South Viet Nam by military force and torture.

To these wailings the American Administration has, if it chooses, a convincing answer. It goes like this:

Many peoples are incapable of maintaining a stable democracy of the kind it took our West Europe ancestors seven or eight centuries to develop. In consequence we can expect many to be ruled by some sort of oligarchy, military or civilian, "Red" or "White."

Under normal conditions, the kind of government in a foreign country is no business of the United States.

But world conditions have not been normal since the United States helped the Soviet Union to extend its rule during World War II. Moreover, far from ending, as peaceniks and wishful thinkers believe, the Cold War is spreading and, in places like Viet Nam, intensifying.

In consequence, the only safe rule for the United States is to assist friends and oppose enemies, regardless of their type of government.

This is hard for American reformers and legalists like John Foster Dulles to accept. But it is essential if we are to prevent the Cold War from becoming hot and keep our own country afloat.

I suggest that readers shocked by our support of the military regime in Greece think this over carefully.

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CAPITOL ARCHITECT J. George Stewart continues to squander the taxpayers' money. Stewart, who is not an architect but a political appointee, has agreed to pay Francis Sullivan of the National Gallery of Art $22,800 to repair some damaged paintings. (Sullivan's annual salary at the gallery is only $13,000.) Questioned by a House Appropriations subcommittee, Stewart admitted that he had not sought estimates from other restorers nor had he contacted any of the "individuals interested in restoring these paintings" who had written him.

Can the GOP Pick a Dove?

By BARRY GOLDWATER

Could a dove be nominated as the next Republican presidential candidate?

No.

By dove, of course, I mean a man who advocates, in effect, letting the Communists achieve their objectives in Viet Nam—but by diplomatic rather than by military means. That, after all, is how the so-called dove position on Viet Nam boils down, no matter its surface decorations.

For instance, those who advocate actions leading to a coalition government are simply advocating communism on the installment plan—as experience with this form of compromise has shown.

Those who advocate letting the Viet Cong play a role in a compromise government, as a price of peace, are simply advocating giving the Communists the very thing for which they began their aggression. They would, in short, be given a victory.

Those who advocate a cessation of bombing, no matter what action the other side takes, are simply advocating another form of slow defeat. They also are putting themselves in the position of advocating a retreat to land warfare on the enemy's terms—a bloody price that would be paid by thousands of American soldiers.

There are, of course, frequently heard Republicans who do occupy a dove position. There are others who occupy a sort of hide-and-go-seek position that is dove when it suits them and obscure when it doesn't.

I do not feel that the nominating convention would even consider a man who is not altogether clear about the war. A seesaw candidate would surely be rejected. After all, a man who could vacillate, back and fill and compromise on a life-and-death matter could hardly be expected to have a firm and clear voice that would be respected on lesser matters.

Even if, by miracle or maneuver, the Vietnamese war was not an issue in the 1968 presidential race, I am sure the delegates to the nominating convention would nevertheless take into full and decisive consideration the way a man had acted when confronted with such a major issue.

Most importantly, any Republican who occupies a dove position stands in direct opposition to the platforms of his own party stretching back to 1960. That platform, incidentally, was one of the toughest ever issued by the party, calling flatly for such resolute strength as was demonstrated by sending marines to Lebanon, transport planes to Berlin and the fleet to the Formosa Strait.

The party's between-elections statement of principle in 1962 openly spoke of victory. The 1964 platform also pledged victory for freedom and specifically rejected the idea that communism's aggressive plans had "mellowed." Statements of the Republican Co-Ordinating Committee have supported those points ever since.

Republican doves today, therefore, are in a position of specifically standing outside their party in foreign policy.

Republican doves, come nominating time, would have quite a bit of explaining to do and also would be in a position of requiring the sort of platform that would differ so radically from past ones as to constitute virtually a new party

Republican doves would be far more representative of Bobby Kennedy's part of the Democratic party than of anything recognizable as Republican.

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QUESTIONS RE (DELETED)—Pentagon censors are having a field day blue-pencilling the transcripts of closed-door congressional hearings. Consider the following exchange between Adm. David McDonald, chief of naval operations, and Sen. John Stennis (D.-Miss.), chairman of the Senate Preparedness subcommittee, as edited by the Pentagon: "McDonald: (Deleted). . . . Stennis: I don't think we need to be looking into this at all if we just say (deleted). McDonald: (Deleted). . . . Stennis: Just what do you mean by (deleted)? McDonald: When I use the term (deleted), I am speaking of the (deleted)."

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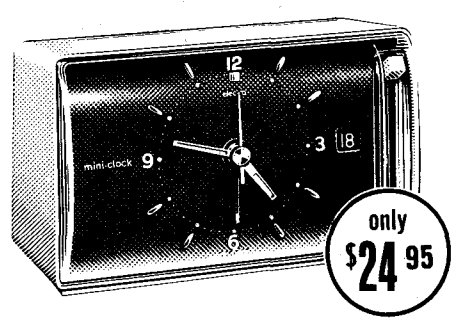

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Debating With Drew Pearson

By PHILLIP ABBOTT LUCE

It was one of those typical discussion-debate television programs. The program emanated from Chicago and was taped on Friday, May 5, for showing the next night. The only difference between this program and others I have appeared on was that for the first time I was paired off against Drew Pearson—dragon-slayer extraordinary. Actually, it ended up being Robin Moore, author of *The Green Berets* and *The Country Team*, and myself lined up against Drew Pearson and Robert Theobald.

Everyone knows Pearson to be the man who makes a livelihood attacking the politics and personal lives of his fellow Americans. He, of course, has led the attack against Sen. Thomas Dodd. Theobald is presently a free-lance "economist" best known for advocating the bizarre economic proposal of the guaranteed annual wage—no one should work and everyone should simply be paid. He is not a favorite among serious economists. Pearson is not a favorite among serious newsmen.

I had been touring Wisconsin for Young Americans for Freedom, speaking out against the New Left and trying to tell students from my own first-hand experience something about the serious challenges of communism. It had been a long tour involving almost three speeches a day at different schools, but when I heard about the chance to meet Pearson on a panel show I jumped at it. Not that I felt that I could seriously challenge either his age or pomp, but at least I would see the muckraker in the flesh across a low-slung coffee table.

The program rapidly developed into a debate. In the beginning it was a dialogue between Pearson and myself over the implications of the Dodd case. Later it became a kind of wild session with Robin Moore and myself standing off the New Left advocate Theobold and the know-it-all Pearson over the American involvement in Viet Nam. All in all, it was quite an afternoon if only for what I learned about the ways of the gods.

If I have any expertise it is certainly not in the intricacies of the Dodd case and I could hardly qualify—on one side or the other—as any kind of authority on the whole affair. I only know what I have read in the papers and from a few conversations with people around *Human Events*. Still, I have always felt that Pearson had some specific reason to knife Dodd rather than others in the Senate and that he, and his associates, were involved in some serious hanky-panky in the whole mess.

Our host was naturally somewhat awed by both the age and historical position of Mr. Pearson. Therefore, the early questions on the program were geared to allow the dandy Drew to put everyone through his paces. He was proud, pompous and duly sanctimonious. You had the feeling that not only did Drew Pearson have all the answers, but that he had all the questions. His sharpness was only outdone by his ability to frustrate any conversation by name dropping. For instance, when the name of Sen. Russell Long was introduced on the program, Pearson immediately started off with "Well, Russell and I. . . ." Or something like that.

Pearson developed in outline form the now well-known charges against Sen. Dodd, replete with side-arm attacks on his personal life and on Sen. Long for opposing the censure of Dodd. You got the feeling that Pearson wanted you to believe he was the last vestige of unbiased journalism in the country. His puffy, sanctimonious attitude, however, bothered some of us in the studio and when he was finished with the host we asked questions.

As I said, I am hardly any expert on the Dodd case. My few questions were therefore less interesting than the answers they elicited. It bothered me that Pearson could assume this on-high position when talking about the Dodd excesses when he had been able to make the original expose only by using documents and papers stolen from Sen. Dodd's office. Not only did there appear to me to be an ethical problem in this, but it smacked of a dual standard of conduct.

I asked Pearson, therefore, something about how he could justify having been involved in the theft, photostating and return of the material taken from the Dodd offices. Simple, he said. The documents were never stolen and besides he had nothing to do with it. According to Pearson, the documents only showed up in his office after several Dodd staff members, on their own, decided to come to him with the information. True, they were all photostated in his office, but they were returned. They had only been "borrowed"—not stolen—he claimed. Pearson, for his age, appeared as innocent as the new born.

Later, when someone asked about his

Drew Pearson says, "I never smear anyone until I have the facts."

attacks on the personal life of Sen. Dodd, he replied with what may go down as the understatement of the year. According to Pearson, "I never smear anyone until I have the facts."

After that jarring statement, the conversation turned to Viet Nam. Robin Moore, who has spent a great deal of time in Viet Nam and knows the situation better than most, might be regarded as a hawk's hawk. Some of his comments made even me feel like a moderate. But Moore's statements did have the effect of setting off the doves. Both Pearson and Theobald blanched visibly at this hard-line stand on Viet Nam.

Theobald began to pontificate about the need for "love" and understanding in the world. He advocated a dropping of the American commitment in Viet Nam and pushed the old line about the need to turn our interests inward and forget the threat of Communist imperialism.

When Robin Moore advocated that we invade North Viet Nam and bomb the dikes to produce floods and great land devastation, Pearson tried to counter by claiming this would bring in Red China. Both Moore and I challenged this assumption and Pearson could only contend that Chou En-lai had said words to this effect. Pearson continued to nod assent to the statements of Theobald and to place himself strongly in the Vietnik camp.

As the program ended, the moderator asked the Jeanne Dixon of the liberal-left to look into his crystal ball and tell the audience who would be the nominees in the next presidential campaign. Pearson, not too surprisingly, said that he favored Rockefeller as the Republican nominee. After rating the other possible GOP nominees, he noted that if President Johnson chose not to run for health reasons Bobby Kennedy would certainly be the Democratic nominee.

After the program, Robin Moore and I decided that the only recourse we had after being confronted with Pearson and Theobald (who said at one point that "Americans have a pathological urge to toil") was to get a cold drink. We did.

America's Farmers Don't Want Any Help

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Charles B. Shuman, president of the American Farm Bureau Federation, came to New York City the other day to brief financial and political writers on the realities of the farm situation. What he had to say may portend the end of government farm control and subsidy programs, for he spoke of a possible political alliance between city consumers and the farmer to get rid of "costly schemes that do more harm than good."

What seemed to bother Mr. Shuman particularly was the sheer inefficiency of government forecasts. Department of Agriculture statistics, he said, aren't worth the paper they are written on.

He spoke of the big mistake that the department made with its cattle count prediction in 1966. The statisticians, for one reason or another, had told the farmers that the cattle cycle was down. Jumping to the natural conclusion that beef prices would rise, the cattlemen started feeding their steers to fatten them up in time to skim off the anticipated profits. But all this time the actual number of cattle was holding at a far higher level than the statisticians had predicted. When the fattened beef cattle hit the market, prices sagged woefully. In mid-April, beef prices were, as the *Farm Journal* has reported, some $4 per hundred less than a year ago. The USDA had actually underestimated the number of beef cattle on the ranges and farms by 3.5 million head.

Mr. Shuman told the New York writers that widespread predictions of a coming world grain shortage were likely to be as fallacious as the cattle count. Even with drought conditions, he said, there would be enough wheat grown in the U.S. in 1967 for normal uses.

The specter of world starvation, said Mr. Shuman, derives far less from the so-called population explosion than it does from the Socialist agriculture practices in the Soviet Union and in Red China, and from the unwillingness of the Indian government to put agricultural reform ahead of industrial "spectaculars." With modern agricultural methods, plenty of food can be grown for everybody; it is modern politics that creates famines.

Mr. Shuman's objections to government interference with farm markets were based on the theory that "controls" will inevitably be exercised for the benefit of the consumer now that the farmer is a small minority of the total population. "Agricultural producers," he said, "are fed up with Administration talk of a 'new era' in farming while the same old outmoded farm programs are used to hold down market prices and make farmers dependent on government payments for 20 per cent of their net income.

"The executive branch of government," he continued, "has used every device at its command to weaken the market."

Government requests for increased wheat plantings in 1967, so Mr. Shuman said, were based on Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman's desire to fill the "carry-over" storage bins again so that prices could be kept down by continued government dumping.

Since it is to the city consumers' advantage to shave their income tax bill by the $3 billion a year that now goes to the farmers in government payments, Mr. Shuman thinks that a farmer-consumer alliance in Congress may very well get behind the bill introduced by Rep. Thomas Curtis of Missouri to repeal present government wheat and feed grain programs.

"If we cannot get rid of 'temporary and emergency' programs now in the face of record low government surpluses and an increased demand for such farm products," said Mr. Shuman, "when will the 'right' time come?"

Mr. Shuman's desire to "put the farmer on his own," however, does not reckon with the needs of a federal bureaucracy which still has some influence in Congress. The Tax Foundation in New York reports that U.S. Department of Agriculture employes jumped from some 90,000 to around 130,000 during the 15-year period in which the number of persons working on farms decreased by 35 per cent. The mistake in the cattle count proves that the bigger the bureaucracy, the bigger the statistical messes. But Orville Freeman is fighting for his own USDA empire, and an entrenched bureaucracy won't lightly accede to its own liquidation.

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'Support Our Boys in Viet Nam'

New York City March Is Huge Success

By ALICE WIDENER

Parading down Fifth Avenue on May 13, along with thousands of fellow New Yorkers to show support for our boys in Viet Nam, I took a few steps ahead to catch up with a woman directly in front of me. Wearing a flowered hat and silk coat, she was very elegant and lovely to look at. Erect and dignified, she limped as she walked. Her right leg was somewhat shrunken and badly scarred. I asked who she was and why she was marching.

With a bright smile, she said she works at an insurance company and gestured toward the spectators on the crowded sidewalks. "This is no time to be on the sidelines," she said. "I'd rather be dead than Red."

Alongside me marched a little girl with her mother and father. He carried a baby boy on his shoulder. When I asked who he was and why the whole family was marching, he pointed to a police badge on his blue shirt. "I'm off duty now, but we wanted to show we're with it—with our side and our boys in Viet Nam."

We walked and walked. Way far ahead was my son, walking with former Wolfhounds dressed in civvies but showing their fellowship with the Wolfhounds in Viet Nam.

I walked the whole distance of the parade, from Fifth Avenue at 95th Street to Third Avenue at 62nd Street. There were very few unpleasant incidents. New York City looked wonderful. Suddenly I wanted to take back all the criticisms I'd written about it; suddenly I felt a deep surge of pride in being a New Yorker, the way I did during the blackout when more than eight million people in our city behaved with such remarkable composure and brotherhood.

In the April 15th "peace" parade that marched from Central Park to United Nations Plaza and was so much publicized, the leftist Spring Mobilization Committee, in alliance with Communists, had labored throughout the country since last January to bring busloads and railroad carloads of out-of-towners to swell the ranks led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Dr. Benjamin Spock and other leading dissenters from U.S. policy in Viet Nam, most of whom were not residents of this city.

Our May 13th parade was a hastily improvised affair sparked by Capt. Raymond W. Gimmler of the New York City Fire Department and given only a moderate amount of local publicity.

As we marched past the reviewing stands, we were glad to see Cardinal Spellman and Lt. Gov. Malcolm Wilson, a fine man respected and trusted by the people of our state, regardless of party affiliation.

Absent from the reviewing stands were Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, Sen. Robert Kennedy and Mayor John Lindsay.

The governor had sent a warm note of regret, but the mayor had held a meeting at Gracie Mansion with a visiting Soviet poet, then went to Central Park where he held some kind of "be-in" with a handful of people only a hundred yards beyond the reviewing stand, then left for Connecticut to attend a parents' day gathering at the private school his daughter attends.

Right now, I'd give odds he won't be re-elected to office.

Radio and TV broadcasters say there were 125,000 of us parading in support of our boys in Viet Nam. The New York *Times* puts the figure at 70,000. Accepting the lower figure—which I do not—it was enough to show how New Yorkers really feel, because Capt. Gimmler didn't bring in trainloads full of people from the entire Eastern seaboard.

It was good to see so many young people in the parade. Right behind me were a group of young men from St. John's College. They sang "God Bless America" all the way and received continuing applause.

An executive from a major industrial company kept in step with me, or rather, I struggled to keep in step with him, because soon after we'd gone a few blocks the strap on my sling shoe broke. When I asked why he was present, he answered, "The lady up ahead said it. We've got to quit letting a small minority get in the act and give the impression they're running the show. No more sidelines for me!"

I said not for me either. That was the first parade I marched in. But it won't be the last, even if someday I need to be pushed in a wheel chair like a white-haired gentleman who sang along with the St. John's boys, out of key but with a heart in tune.

(U.S.A. Syndicate)

Over 75,000 marchers demonstrated in support of fighting men in Viet Nam and close to that number watched from the sidewalks.

Some Homework for Teddy

Two Kennedys on Viet Nam

From the Washington *Daily News*

Sen. Edward M. (Teddy) Kennedy, in a speech May 9 at the University of North Carolina, portrayed the United States as a latter-day colonial power, a trigger-happy blockhead that alternately is shooting up the Asian mainland and trying to impose our forms of democracy and the "Great Society" on Asians.

Once the Viet Nam war is over, advised the 36-year-old senator, we should "reduce our own involvement in Asian affairs," beginning with a prompt cutback in our "military network." After all, he argued, Asians can handle their own Communist insurgencies, and can contain Communist China, even a China rapidly developing a nuclear arsenal. Moreover, "Our own policies toward China should be a reflection of what our true allies, such as Japan, Korea and India, think about her"—this is clearly a new concept of the framing of national policy!

It was a carping, lopsided, isolationist speech. The young senator even went so far as to maintain that "Guerrilla movements, despite their use of terror and violence, offer discontented people a purpose, a faith, an organization and a way of life. But it is not our business to suppress them. It is not our mission to make Asia safe for the mandarins and landlords."

This statement simply glosses over the "use of terror and violence," which is the heart of the matter in Viet Nam. Americans are fighting in Viet Nam not simply to make life safe for "mandarins and landlords," but to assure freedom to all South Vietnamese. Certainly Sen. Kennedy should know that.

Before Teddy goes any further in solving the future of Asia, we suggest he do more homework. As a start he could study the words of President John F. Kennedy:

"Our problem now, of course, is that with the rise of the Communist power in China combined with an expansionist, Stalinist philosophy, our major problem . . . is how we can contain the expansion of communism in Asia so that we do not find the Chinese moving out into a dominant position in all of Asia, with its hundreds and hundreds of millions of people . . . ."

And—"The U.S.—and this becomes more and more obvious every day—is the source of strength of the entire free world. We are criticized and denounced regularly, day by day, in every section of the free world. But the fact is that the United States is the sentinel at the gate. . . . I do not think that any of us should regret this role—and I do not. It is burdensome. I am sure that you get fatigued from it. I am sure you regard it as a heavy burden on you. But the fact of the matter is that if we fail the whole cause of freedom fails. And I believe as a citizen of the U.S. that we should be prepared to carry that burden, regardless of whether others are willing to do so or not."

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What Taxes Does Ivan Pay?

By NINO LO BELLO in the Indianapolis *Star*

Moscow:—What sort of income tax does Ivan pay?

Although the Supreme Soviet of the USSR once upon a time passed a law which says that someday no one will have to pay income taxes, Citizen Ivan and Citizen Irina today contribute a chunk of their earnings to Moscow's internal revenue program.

Under Russian law the tax structure is graduated. Persons earning up to about $100 a month—and this includes the majority of Russian men and women—kick in 7 per cent of their income. Workers going over the $100 salary have their tax rate hiked to 13 per cent.

This doesn't apply, however, to certain classifications of income where the tax percentage can jump over the moon. For instance, a Soviet star who entertains in foreign countries—say a violinist or a ballet dancer—loses about 80 per cent if his yearly intake goes into orbit and thrusts past $7,000.

Soviet citizens are not pestered with any income-tax forms to fill out at the end of the fiscal year. The taxes are deducted from salaries every two weeks, when the pay envelopes are handed out. Since these deductions are computed by a hard-abacus system, Ivan can't cheat, nor will he ever get a refund from his withholding tax.

Because the Moscow government is the only organization with the right to impose taxes, there are no city sales tax or state taxes of any kind to pay. However, the Russians have what is known as a "turnover tax," a sum tacked onto every product manufactured and sold, and this, therefore, more than the income tax, is the main form of taxation in the Soviet Union.

Thus, adding everything up in dollars and sense, what it means to Ivan, Irina and their Comrades is that approximately 60 per cent of their respective wages goes back to Kremlin coffers in one kind of tax or another, most of which are hidden.

Russians who manage to have any money left over at the end of the month are urged to put it into savings banks (all state-owned) which give a 2 or 3 per cent rate of interest. Ivan can deposit his money in one of various types of accounts—"current," "time," "conditional" and "lottery."

With a "current" account, which gives 2 per cent interest annually, a depositer may draw out his money at any time. "Time" accounts are deposits for a specific period (but not less than six months), whereas a "conditional" account lasts until a stipulated condition comes about—such as a child reaching the age of 10, etc. Both "time" and "conditional" accounts pay 3 per cent interest per year.

The "lottery" accounts are unique by Western standards because they yield "interest" only on winnings. This so-called interest can range, if a depositor holds one of the lucky numbers, from $0 to $10,000 (non-taxable). Instead of putting his money directly into a savings account, Ivan buys a government bond for about $20 and deposits this into a "lottery" account. He can convert this non-interest bond into cash any time he wants, but as long as it stays in the bank under his name, he is eligible for a money prize during one of the regular drawings.

Russians are also encouraged to buy regular 20-year government bonds through payroll deductions. Though these are not compulsory, they are "compulsory" in another sense, for every wise Soviet worker knows on which side his black bread is buttered inasmuch as each factory or enterprise has a certain quota of patriotic bonds it is expected to peddle.

In April 1957 the Soviet regime informed its people that it had to default on the payment of some $26 billion in bonds which the government was obligated to pay at the end of 20 years. When the then-Prime Minister Nikita Khrushchev revealed this in a public speech at Gorki, he told his listeners that the state needed the money to keep up its expansion program and that the debts would be paid in another 20 years.

Whatever the Russians may have privately felt about this astounding piece of news is not known—however, Khrushchev was given a hearty round of applause at the announcement. Indeed, no one can say Nikita didn't hold their interest that day.

□ □ □

Russians Have Tripled Arms Shipments to Hanoi

From the Allen-Scott Report

Russia is losing no time in making good its threat to appreciably increase military aid to North Viet Nam.

Since Communist party chief Leonid Brezhnev first hurled this warning in February, Soviet arms shipments to Hanoi have tripled.

More than 175 Iron Curtain vessels, carrying hundreds of ground-to-ground rockets with ranges from six to 30 miles, have unloaded at North Viet Nam ports. The 30-mile rockets, not yet operational, are for coastal defense.

Naval intelligence authorities report that 96 of the Red ships docked during April, setting a new record for arrivals in a single month. Previous high was 36 in December 1966.

In that month Russia began delivering the most effective weapon North Viet Nam now has against U.S. troops and their bases—the 140mm rocket with launcher. This weapon and the still longer-ranged 200mm rocket have shown up on other fronts in recent weeks.

Both type rockets are light-weight and cheap to produce. In the three months they have been used in Viet Nam, these weapons are estimated to have caused 1,000 U.S. casualties in killed and wounded, destroyed 14 planes and damaged some 30 others.

The introduction of these powerful arms is confronting U.S. commanders with new far-reaching problems.

The 200mm rocket can out-shoot the U.S. 175mm "Big Tom" field guns. As a consequence, American forces have been compelled to erect strong defenses capable of withstanding rocket bombardments. Similarly, the 140mm rocket has compelled the Navy to do most of its patrolling and coastal bombardment at night.

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□ □ □

MEDICAID COSTS—The cost of "medicaid" has soared to more than $1.1 billion with only half the states participating. Original estimate of the program had been $795 million. "Medicaid" is the little-noticed provision of the Medicare act that enables states to use federal funds to subsidize the medical care of middle-income families, regardless of age.

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Bumper sticker—**Victory, Then Peace** —25¢, 5/$1.00. T.R.A.I.N., Box 742, Bridgeton, Mo. 63042

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

Update Tonkin Resolve

By SEN. NORRIS COTTON (R.-N.H.)

Three main objectives might be accomplished if the President and the Congress went to the mat and updated the Tonkin Resolution [a congressional resolution of support of the Viet Nam campaign passed almost unanimously in 1964]. First, the President and his policy-makers would have to lay it on the line for the Congress and the country—clearly and firmly. So far we have been viewing a revolving kaleidoscope with constantly changing shades and colors—all-out bombing followed by a truce—we mustn't destroy MIGs on the ground or they will base them in China, then we bomb them—we will not strike targets in Hanoi or Haiphong, then we strike them, after giving them a year to get ready.

Second, Congress also would have to get down to brass tacks. It's easy to talk when you don't have to vote. Both hawks and doves can spread their wings and soar—until the clerk starts to call the roll. Then they will cease to be birds and become careful, thoughtful legislators.

Third, the attitude of the great majority of our people toward the war is likely to be reflected by the votes of their elected representatives. Neither our nation, neutral powers, nor the enemy have any means of gauging public sentiment as long as it's expressed only by shouts in the streets, protests in the press, and sporadic speeches in Congress.

These were my thoughts as I came from hearing Gen. Westmoreland. I believe that the President has little to lose and much to gain by taking the Congress into his confidence and putting it to the test. I still recall the words of James Graham in the old Fifth Reader I studied in school.

He either fears his fate too much,
Or his deserts are small,
That dares not put it to the touch
To gain or lose it all.

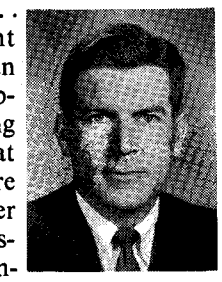
Foreign Aid Folly

By REP. JOHN DOWDY (D.-Tex.)

We are now reaping the whirlwind resulting from the reckless generosity with which our foreign aid has been dispensed. The United States is fast losing its place as a financial power. Our dollar is reaching the point where it will become an inconvertible currency. Our gold reserve is now about $13 billion, against which there are short-term foreign claims of more than $31 billion, and there is a claim of $11 billion as backing for our own money, which leaves only $2 billion to meet the foreign claims of $31 billion. There is about $15 billion in foreign aid appropriations for former years that is yet unspent, and there are budget requests for new foreign aid appropriations in the approximate amount of $10 billion. None of this includes what the Viet Nam war will cost. Our unfavorable foreign trade balance is greatly aggravated by these expenditures, resulting in increasing pressure on our currency, and the further growth of inflation.

Federal Housing Snoops

By REP. THOMAS MESKILL (R.-Conn.)



The federal government's housing code inspection provisions are an unwarranted invasion of privacy.... I asked the Department of Housing and Urban Development to approve a code requiring reasonable belief that violations exist before inspectors could enter a residence. But the assistant secretary informed me that HUD would not approve a code with such a provision.

Present regulations give an inspector far more power than he needs to enforce the code.

The law has always respected the sanctity of the home. Recent Supreme Court decisions on wire tapping and other invasion of privacy cases have upheld and reaffirmed this right. Yet HUD seeks to reverse the tradition by subjecting the public to the whims of a housing inspector.

The law provides that police must first obtain a search warrant before entering the home of a suspected criminal to search for incriminating evidence. The dishonest criminal is given protection that Washington refuses the honest homeowner.

House Balks at Rent Subsidies, 232-171

Following is the 232-to-171 rollcall vote by which the House of Representatives on May 17 refused to appropriate $10 million to finance new rent subsidy projects (the Administration originally requested $40 million). The key vote was on an amendment disallowing such rent subsidy funds; thus an "aye" vote is a vote for economy and a setback to the "Great Society."

DEMOCRATS FOR: 69

Abbitt
Abernethy
Andrews (Ala.)
Ashmore
Baring
Bennett
Bevill
Blanton
Brinkley
Burleson
Cabell
Colmer
Davis (Ga.)
de la Garza
Dorn
Dowdy
Downing
Edwards (La.)
Fallon
Fisher
Flynt
Fountain
Fuqua
Galifianakis
Garmatz
Gathings
Gettys
Hagan
Haley
Hamilton
Hardy
Hebert
Henderson
Herlong
Ichord
Jarman
Jones (Ala.)
Jones (Mo.)
Jones (N.C.)
Kornegay
Lennon
Long (La.)
McCarthy
Marsh
Montgomery
Nichols
O'Neal (Ga.)
Passman
Pike
Poage
Pool
Randall
Rarick
Rivers
Roberts
Rogers (Fla.)
Satterfield
Selden
Stratton
Stuckey
Taylor
Teague (Tex.)
Tuck
Tunney
Waggonner
Watts
White
Whitener
Whitten

REPUBLICANS FOR: 163

Anderson (Ill.)
Andrews (N.D.)
Arends
Ashbrook
Ayres
Bates
Battin
Belcher
Bell
Berry
Betts
Biester
Blackburn
Bolton
Bray
Brock
Broomfield
Brotzman
Brown (Ohio)
Broyhill (N.C.)
Broyhill (Va.)
Buchanan
Burke (Fla.)
Burton (Utah)
Bush
Byrnes (Wis.)
Cahill
Carter
Cederberg
Chamberlain
Clausen, Don
Clawson, Del
Cleveland
Collier
Conable
Corbett
Cramer
Cunningham
Curtis
Davis (Wis.)
Denney
Devine
Dickinson
Dole
Duncan
Dwyer
Edwards (Ala.)
Erlenborn
Esch
Eshleman
Findley
Fino
Ford, Gerald
Frelinghuysen
Fulton (Pa.)
Gardner
Goodell
Goodling
Gross
Grover
Gubser
Gurney
Hall
Halleck
Hammerschmidt
Hansen (Idaho)
Harrison
Harsha
Heckler (Mass.)
Hosmer
Hunt
Hutchinson
Johnson (Pa.)
Jonas
Keith
King (N.Y.)
Kleppe
Kuykendall
Kyl
Langen
Lipscomb
Lloyd
Lukens
McClory
McClure
McCulloch
McDade
McDonald (Mich.)
McEwen
Mailliard
Martin
Mathias (Calif.)
May
Mayne
Meskill
Michel
Miller (Ohio)
Minshall
Mize
Moore
Morton
Myers
Nelsen
O'Konski
Pelly
Pettis
Pirnie
Poff
Pollock
Price (Tex.)
Quie
Quillen
Railsback
Reid (Ill.)
Reifel
Reinecke
Rhodes (Ariz.)
Riegle
Robinson
Roth
Roudebush
Rumsfeld
Ruppe
Sandman
Saylor
Schadeberg
Scherle
Schneebeli
Schweiker
Schwengel
Scott
Shriver
Skubitz
Smith (Calif.)
Smith (N.Y.)
Smith (Okla.)
Snyder
Springer
Stafford
Stanton
Steiger (Ariz.)
Steiger (Wis.)
Taft
Talcott
Teague (Calif.)
Thomson (Wis.)
Utt
Vander Jagt
Wampler
Watkins
Watson
Whalley
Widnall
Wiggins
Williams (Pa.)
Wilson, Bob
Winn
Wyatt
Wydler
Wylie
Wyman
Zion
Zwach

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: 159

Adams
Addabbo
Albert
Anderson (Tenn.)
Annunzio
Ashley
Aspinall
Barrett
Bingham
Blatnik
Boggs
Boland
Bolling
Brademas
Brasco
Brooks
Brown (Calif.)
Burke (Mass.)
Burton (Calif.)
Byrne (Pa.)
Carey
Casey
Celler
Clark
Cohelan
Conyers
Corman
Culver
Daddario
Daniels
Dawson
Delaney
Dent
Donohue
Dow
Dulski
Eckhardt
Edmondson
Edwards (Calif.)
Eilberg
Evans (Colo.)
Everett
Evins (Tenn.)
Farbstein
Feighan
Flood
Foley
Ford, Wm. D.
Fraser
Friedel
Fulton (Tenn.)
Gallagher
Giaimo
Gibbons
Gilbert
Gonzalez
Gray
Green (Ore.)
Green (Pa.)
Griffiths
Hanley
Hanna
Hansen (Wash.)
Hathaway
Hawkins
Hechler (W. Va.)
Helstoski
Hicks
Holifield
Howard
Hungate
Irwin
Jacobs
Joelson
Johnson (Calif.)
Karsten
Karth
Kastenmeier
Kazen
Kee
Kelly
King (Calif.)
Kirwan
Kluczynski
Kyros
Landrum
Leggett
Long (Md.)
McFall
Macdonald (Mass.)
Machen
Madden
Mahon
Matsunaga
Meeds
Miller (Calif.)
Mills
Minish
Mink
Monagan
Moorhead
Morgan
Morris (N.M.)
Multer
Murphy (Ill.)
Murphy (N.Y.)
Natcher
Nix
O'Hara (Ill.)
O'Hara (Mich.)
Olsen
O'Neill (Mass.)
Ottinger
Patman
Patten
Pepper
Perkins
Philbin
Price (Ill.)
Pryor
Pucinski
Purcell
Rees
Resnick
Reuss
Rhodes (Pa.)
Rogers (Colo.)
Ronan
Rooney (Pa.)
Rooney (N.Y.)
Rosenthal
Rostenkowski
Roush
Roybal
Ryan
St Germain
Scheuer
Shipley
Sisk
Slack
Staggers
Steed
Stephens
Stubblefield
Sullivan
Tenzer
Thompson (N.J.)
Tiernan
Udall
Van Deerlin
Vanik
Vigorito
Waldie
Walker
Wolff
Wright
Yates
Young
Zablocki

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: 12

Brown (Mich.)
Button
Gude
Halpern
Harvey
Horton
Kupferman
Mathias (Md.)
Morse (Mass.)
Mosher
Reid (N.Y.)
Whalen

NOT VOTING: 31

Legislative Boxscore

The following is a round-up of items of particular interest to Human Events readers:

Bills

Rep. Paul Fino (R.-N.Y.) will soon introduce an amendment which could act as a deterrent to the Administration's "bridge-building" policy toward Communist countries. The **Fino Amendment**, which will be tacked on a routine bill extending the life of the U.S. Export-Import Bank, would serve to prevent the Ex-Im, which is funded by taxpayers' dollars, from directly or indirectly subsidizing projects in Communist countries. One program the Fino Amendment would stop is the Fiat automobile company's proposed plan to build a factory, using a U.S. loan, in the Soviet Union.

• The **Rent Supplements Appropriations Bill,** defeated in the House (see page 3 and rollcall at left) will now go to the Senate, where the House decision to bar the Administration from signing new rent supplement contracts could be reversed. In such a case, the bill would next go to a joint House-Senate Conference where a compromise measure (most likely resulting in continuation of the program) would be ironed out. For the rent supplement program to be killed completely, it must be rejected by the Senate.

• The **Public Television Act** has passed the Senate and now becomes the subject of hearings before the House Education and Labor Committee, where it will be HR 6736. The bill represents a strong, bold move for more federal control over the television industry by setting up a broad government program to "extend and improve the program of grants" for building non-commercial radio broadcasting facilities and establishing a non-profit, government-supported corporation to "assist" in educational television programming and operations. On the day of Senate passage, Sen. Strom Thurmond (R.-S.C.) sharply criticized the bill because it lacks safeguards to keep the governing corporation from being captured by a clique that would try to use the educational broadcasting network to promote its viewpoints; "anyone who truly loves liberty," said Thurmond, "must oppose this bill."

• Both the House and Senate Judiciary Committees are now considering the Administration's **Omnibus Civil Rights Bill** (S 1026 and HR 5700). The most significant provision of the bill is an "open housing" provision almost identical to that rejected by the 89th Congress because of its infringement on private property rights. Under the 1967 bill's housing section, by Jan. 1, 1969, the government would be empowered to legally prohibit racial and religious discrimination in all forms of housing, including rental of rooms in private homes. Another controversial provision would make the presidentially appointed Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, rather than the courts, the initial arbiter in cases involving alleged discriminatory practices.

• Hearings have been completed on the so-called **Truth-in-Lending Bill** (S 5) and it will soon be reported for consideration of the full Senate. The intent of the legislation, which has been rejected by every session of Congress since 1960, is to clamp federal control, by means of arbitrary restrictions and regulations, on credit, on private commercial banks and consumer credit offices. This plan is of great importance in view of the fact that the banks and credit offices in question provide over half the nation's credit financing and play a vital role in national economy.

• Hearings have been completed in the House on LBJ's package of **Social Security amendments** (HR 5710) and floor debate will begin soon. The amendments, including further financing of the Medicare system, constitute a gigantic 20 per cent increase in benefits and, at the same time, an increase in payroll taxes to 4.5 per cent in 1969 and 5 per cent by 1973.

• A House Labor subcommittee has reported the **Situs Picketing Bill** to the full House Education and Labor Committee for further hearings preparatory to floor debate. The bill, organized labor's No. 1 legislative project of the 90th Congress, would allow a striking union to mass-picket a construction site and bar members of non-striking unions from going to work. Despite the fact this would allow striking unions to tie up construction of vital defense installations and space projects, the bill has Department of Labor support.

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The Journal of David Q. Little

by R. Daniel McMichael A Selection of the Conservative Book Club

A haunting new novel that shows what life will be like in our own country when Western Liberals and the Communist world finally bury the hatchet . . . into the U.S. Constitution!

THE HEARINGS GRINDED ON. The 44 "subjects" sat up there immobile on the dais of the Grand Ballroom, Hotel Royal. Towering over them were the six examiners, including Nicholas Syerov, the Russian representative. The hot TV lights boiled down on the 44.

They were Pittsburgh's leadership: company presidents, a bishop, union heads, an editor, leaders of civic groups. Most of them supported the Treaty of Friendship between Russia and the United States. That, after all, was better than nuclear war – wasn't it?

The Treaty had set up the World Order of Nations (WON). America had pledged to work under the WON for peace, to turn away from its own selfish interests, to cooperate in the great work of building up the undeveloped nations. Under terms of the Treaty, the USA-USSR Joint Peace Commission set up shop in Washington to see that the U.S. fulfilled its Treaty obligations, which of course had first priority, as everyone agreed (except for a few extremists).

To see that Joint Peace Commission directives were carried out on the local level, Joint Committees For Local Action (JCFLA) were set up for every region in the United States. Smith Armstrong was Chairman for Pennsylvania's Southwest District. Icy cool, he presided over the hearings to determine whether the 44 were to be brought up for treason before the WON.

The charges against them were grave. One was accused of preferring the interests of the United States. Another, a company president, was said to have put profits first. Others were denounced for holding that a nation might need limited arms for self-defense, that wages shouldn't be cut, that the WON might not be the final answer to world government. Small wonder the two thousand spectators howled and jeered as each traitor was marched into the witness box.

Last to be called was Avery Brown, board chairman of one of the nation's steel giants. The witnesses marshalled against him were overpowering: two of his own vice-presidents, the Secretary of Commerce, the Governor of Pennsylvania. "Why," David Q. Little almost screamed to himself, "why do they want *me* to testify?"

For David Little was only a steel salesman. A few times he and Mr. Brown had exchanged pleasantries at the water cooler. That was all. Why should pig-eyed Leon Tidings, the mysterious government official who spewed out hatred of all things American, why should Tidings single out David?

No matter. He *had* singled him out. And Smith Armstrong had let David know, in tones that never rose above a murmur yet chilled him with terror, that David was expected to "cooperate."

David had no intention of cooperating. In the six months since the Treaty, he had seen the quality of Pittsburgh life melt like a snowflake in a furnace. Now they were rolling over the leaders of the community. Could one man stand up to them? He desperately wanted to.

David heard Smith Armstrong, seated high above him, ask the question he knew would come, the question he dreaded. "What is your opinion of Mr. Brown's general reaction to the Treaty of Friendship?"

It was the Moment of Truth. Now he was alone in the darkness. Outside, all around him, was Power. He realized that Avery Brown was doomed. He thought about Nancy, the three children, his job, his mortgage.

How did David answer? *How would you answer?*

One Man Against the Total State

David Q. Little is everyman, neither hero nor villain. He finds himself caught up in events so strange he can hardly trust his own eyes and ears. David never liked to be alone. Now, in the madness all around him, he finds comfort in solitude. He begins to keep a journal, discovers himself in its pages – and helps us discover *ourselves*.

This is the story of what may happen to America, the day after tomorrow. Drip, drip, drip erode our freedoms. David Q. Little, Mr. Average American, puts it down as it happens – often hardly realizing the meaning of it all. Because he is the guy next door, David's journal has a vividness, a shock value that will haunt you. For just a few moments, step inside David's world:

EVERYDAY LIFE. The FCC has authority to monitor phone calls "to safeguard the public interest." There is a booming black market in pre-Treaty books and magazines, since the Treaty requires the government to "upgrade" all publishing. Paint peels off buildings, trees die, grass runs to weeds. Medicine is nationalized, with medical care and drugs available only to those with the right government papers.

LAW AND ORDER. Youth gangs roam the streets, raping and looting. David's home is vandalized 14 times but the local police, now disarmed, are powerless. Pittsburgh courts have four judges: from India, England, Poland and Cuba.

INFLATION. David's dollar is worth 16¢. The gold-backed ruble is the world currency. Three Peace Loans from Russia keep our economy going.

THE JOB MARKET. When David loses his job, he finds he can get a new one only through the government. Every job is classified, with minimum and maximum salaries.

RELIGION. Christmas is no longer a holiday, since the authorities are anxious to guarantee the absolute separation of Church and State. The churches agree, assuring everyone that the law does not affect people of true faith.

HOUSING. The Bureau of Housing now controls all home sales. Private contractors and realtors have been outlawed for serving "the selfish minority." To ensure "absolute equality and free choice," the Bureau sets racial quotas for each neighborhood.

POLITICS. All laws against the Communist Party are rescinded. Its membership swells. Democrats and Republicans merge into the new Coalition Party, but they are no match for the surging Communists. The secret ballot is abolished ("Only the guilty have something to hide!"). The Communists see to it that everyone votes. They poll 98%.

THE FAMILY. David's children are all selected for a free summer at the nearby World Youth Camp, though David and Nancy are not permitted to visit them. The children return lean, tan, older-looking, and bursting with slogans about building the New World. But David fails his Attitude Test (designed to determine a person's real views about his job and politics, and thus to isolate the unstable, the neurotic, the disloyal). David is fired and evicted, and the children are taken to a youth reclamation camp until he can provide "a proper home environment."

Examination Under Risk-Free Guarantee

This novel, with its anguished vision of America under the heel of Communists, spares us nothing. And yet, finally, the picture is inspiring. For David meets up with a handful of brave men and women who want to fight back. How they manage it, against impossible odds, is a hymn of hope that freedom will not die easily in our land.

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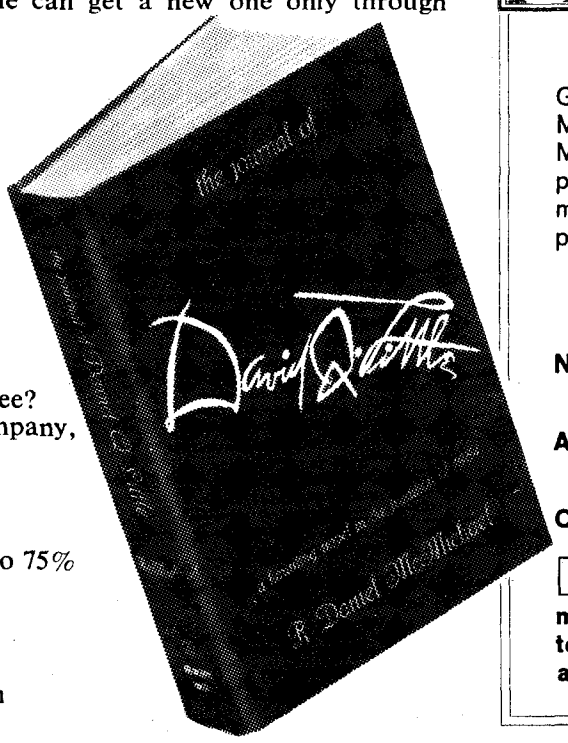

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